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L'étude vise un double objectif. Elle analyse d'abord le rôle de l'enseignant dans l'initiation des étudiants au domaine politique, et plus particulièrement leur propension à intervenir de façon explicite dans ce processus en discutant de questions politiques avec les étudiants. Elle tente par ailleurs d'identifier les forces et les circonstances qui déterminent le comportement des enseignants en tant qu'agents de socialisation politique.

La principale source de données est un questionnaire (reproduit en annexe) distribué en 1972 à 2296 enseignants d'écoles secondaires (taux de réponse de 73%). L'échantillon est stratifié en fonction de la langue d'enseignement. D'autres données recueillies auprès des parents, des étudiants et des principaux des écoles où furent sélectionnés les enseignants sont aussi utilisées. L'ensemble de ces données provient des enquêtes menées dans le cadre du projet ASOPE.

Il ressort de l'analyse que les enseignants n'ont pas tendance à jouer un rôle très actif dans la socialisation politique des étudiants. Contrairement aux craintes exprimées par certains groupes, la discussion de questions politiques entre enseignants et étudiants n'est pas apparue comme un élément important de ce processus de socialisation. Par ailleurs, il semble que l'attitude des enseignants en tant qu'agents de socialisation politique dépende moins qu'on l'avait cru de leurs antécédents politiques et sociaux.

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LES CAHIERS D'A.S.O.P.E.

Volume XVII

TEACHERS AS AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Claude Trottier

A.S.O.P.E.

**ASPIRATIONS SCOLAIRES et
ORIENTATIONS PROFESSIONNELLES DES ÉTUDIANTS**

**Faculté des Sciences de l'Éducation
Université Laval
Québec**

**Département de Sociologie
Université de Montréal
Montréal**

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VOLUME XVII

TEACHERS AS AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

CLAUDE TROTTIER

JUILLET 1981

L'EQUIPE ASOPE

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A Thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Toronto

Claude R. Trotter 1979



Department of Sociology

CLAUDE R. TROTTER

By

TEACHERS AS AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

1

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CONTENTS

	page
Acknowledgments	ii
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	xiii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1 - The research problem and research on political socialization	4
1.1. The research problem	8
1.2. The main orientations of research on political socialization	16
1.3. The school as an agency of political socialization . .	23
1.4. Empirical research on teachers as agents of political socialization	30
Chapter 2 - The model of analysis	35
2.1. The dependent variable: explicit intervention of teachers in socialization to politics	36
2.2. The independent variables	39
2.3. Teachers' political and educational orientations . . .	43
2.4. Variables related to the teachers' network of inter- action	47
2.5. The social and occupational backgrounds of teachers . .	56
2.6. The community and the organizational characteristics of schools	59
2.7. Interrelations between the independent variables . . .	61

Chapter 3 - The research methodology	64
3.1. The sample and data collection	65
3.2. The construction of indices	72
3.3. Analysis of the data	84
Chapter 4 - Teachers' role definition and strategies with respect to political discussion, and the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students	89
4.1. Teachers' perception of the importance of the school as an agent of political socialization and teachers' role definition in regard to political discussion	90
4.2. The propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students	97
4.3. Strategies for political discussion	105
Chapter 5 - Configuration of political and educational orienta- tions	120
5.1. Configuration of political orientations and values	121
5.2. Configuration of educational orientations	132
Chapter 6 - Variables related to the teacher's network of interaction	149
6.1. Expectations of members of the teacher's role-set	150
6.2. Perceived negative sanctions	160
6.3. Perceived role conflict	170
6.4. Opportunities for political discussion	178
Chapter 7 - Teachers' social and occupational backgrounds	198
7.1. Teachers' socio-economic backgrounds	198
7.2. Teachers' occupational backgrounds	209
7.2.1. Teacher training	215
7.2.2. Teaching experience	223

	page
Chapter 8 - Community and organizational characteristics of the school	235
8.1. Size of the community where the school is located . . .	236
8.2. Socio-economic status of the school	242
8.3. Public or private status of the school	253
Chapter 9 - Conclusion	264
9.1. Circumstances under which teachers discuss politics with students	264
9.2. Importance of political discussion in political socialization at school	279
9.3. Questions for further research	287
Appendix A - Teachers questionnaire	296
Appendix B - Tables	306
References	315

LIST OF TABLES

Table	page
4.1 Percentage of teachers, parents, students and principals who think that the school has a very important or a fairly important role to play in introducing students to the world of politics, by school language	92
4.2 Teachers' role definition and role expectations of students, parents and principals, with regard to discussion by teachers of political affairs with the students, by school language . .	96
4.3 Propensity of teachers to discuss political affairs with the students, by school language	100
4.4 Percentage of teachers who discuss political affairs often or occasionally, by relation of discussion to subject taught and by school language	102
4.5 Propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students, by school language	102
4.6 Propensity of teachers to discuss politics, by teachers' role definition and by school language	104
4.7 Teachers' strategies for dealing with controversial topics, by school language	110
4.8 Teachers' strategies for dealing with controversial topics, by propensity of teachers to discuss politics, and by school language	112
4.9 Percentage of teachers who discuss politics with the students, by teachers' perception of the propensity of students to initiate political discussions and by school language	115
4.10 Percentage of teachers who never discuss politics with the students, by teachers' attitudes in regard to initiating political discussion with the students and by school language.	115
5.1 Teachers' political participation, by school language	123
5.2 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by political participation and by school language . . .	123

Table	page
5.3 Teachers' voting intentions, by school language	125
5.4 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by the teachers' voting intentions and by school language	126
5.5 Teacher liberalism-conservatism, by school language	128
5.6 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics with the students, by teacher liberalism-conservatism and by school language	128
5.7 French-speaking teachers' political participation, by teacher liberalism-conservatism	130
5.8 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by the teachers' political participation and liberalism-conservatism	130
5.9 Conception teachers have of the goals of the school, by school language	136
5.10 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by conception of the goals of the schools and by school language	137
5.11 French-speaking teachers' conception of school goal (student- expressive), by teacher liberalism-conservatism	139
5.12 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by the conception teacher have of the school goal and by teacher liberalism-conservatism	139
5.13 Propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision- making process, by school language	143
5.14 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process and by school language	144
5.15 French-speaking teachers' propensity to claim greater power in the decision-making process, by teacher liberalism- conservatism	145
5.16 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process, and teacher liberalism-conservatism	146
6.1.1 Expectations of colleagues, parents and students in regard to teachers' political discussion, by school language	155

Table	page
6.1.2 Expectations of the school principal in regard to teachers' political discussion, by school language	156
6.1.3 Percentage of the teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by expectations of colleagues, parents and students in regard to teachers' political discussion and by school language	158
6.1.4 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by expectations of the school principal in regard to political discussion and by school language	159
6.2.1 Percentage of teachers who believe that the following groups or agents would disapprove of them discussing political affairs with the students in class, by school language . . .	163
6.2.2 Teacher perception of negative sanctions in regard to political discussion, by school language	166
6.2.3 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by teacher perception of negative sanctions in regard to political discussion and by school language	166
6.2.4 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by teacher perception of negative sanctions and by teachers' role definition	168
6.3.1 Teachers' perceived role conflict in regard to political discussion, by school language	173
6.3.2 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss political affairs, by perceived role conflict in regard to political discussion and by school language	173
6.3.3 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by perceived role conflict and by teachers' role definition	175
6.3.4 French-speaking teachers' perceptions of the propensity of students to initiate political discussion, by teachers' role definition among teachers who perceive a high degree of role conflict and discuss politics with students	176
6.3.5 Perceived negative sanctions and perceived role conflict in regard to political discussion, by colleagues' expectations among French-speaking teachers	177
6.3.6 Perceived role conflict, by teacher perception of negative sanctions among French-speaking teachers	179
6.4.1 High school levels taught by teachers, by school language . .	182

Table	page
6.4.2 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity of discuss political affairs, by high school levels taught and by school language	183
6.4.3 Subjects taught, by school language	185
6.4.4 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss political affairs, by the subject taught and by school language	185
6.4.5 Secondary school levels and subjects taught, by duration of training among French-speaking teachers	186
6.4.6 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by secondary school level and by duration of training	187
6.4.7 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by subject taught and duration of training	189
6.4.8 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by secondary school level, and by teacher liberalism-conservatism and political participation .	189
6.4.9 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by subject taught, and by teacher liberalism-conservatism and political participation	190
6.4.10 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics with students, by secondary school level, by teachers' role definition, perceived negative sanctions and by colleagues' expectations	192
6.4.11 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by the subject taught, by teachers' role definition, by perceived negative sanctions, and by colleagues' expectations	193
7.1.1 Teachers' socio-economic status of origin, by school language	201
7.1.2 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by socio-economic status of origin and by school language	203
7.1.3 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by socio-economic status of origin and by teaching experience	204
7.1.4 Political participation of French-speaking teachers, by socio-economic status of origin	205

Table	page
7.1.5 Political participation of French-speaking teachers, by social mobility	206
7.1.6 Liberalism-conservatism of French-speaking teachers by socio-economic status of origin	207
7.1.7 Liberalism-conservatism of French-speaking teachers, by teachers' social mobility	208
7.2.1.1 Duration of teacher training, by school language	217
7.2.1.2 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by duration of teacher training and by school language	217
7.2.1.3 French-speaking teacher political participation, liberalism and conception of the goals of the school, by duration of training	219
7.2.1.4 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by duration of training, and by liberalism-conservatism, political participation, and conception of the goals of the school	220
7.2.1.5 Perceived negative sanctions, by duration of training among French-speaking teachers	221
7.2.1.6 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by duration of training and by perceived negative sanctions	222
7.2.1.7 Duration of training, by socio-economic status of origin, for French-speaking teachers	223
7.2.2.1 Teaching experience, by school language	224
7.2.2.2 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by teaching experience and by school language	225
7.2.2.3 French-speaking teachers' teaching experience, by duration of training	226
7.2.2.4 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by teaching experience and by duration of training	227
7.2.2.5 French-speaking teacher political participation, liberalism-conservatism and conception of the goals of the school, by teaching experience	228
8.1.1 Teachers in schools located in communities of different sizes, by school language	238

Table	page
8.1.2 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by community size and by school language	238
8.1.3 Colleagues' expectations, perceived negative sanctions and perceived role conflict among French-speaking teachers, by community size	240
8.1.4 Political participation, liberalism-conservatism, conception of the goals of the school and training among French-speaking teachers, by community size	241
8.2.1 Teachers in schools of different socio-economic status, by school language	244
8.2.2 Teachers in schools of different socio-economic status, by community size and by school language	244
8.2.3 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by socio-economic status of the school and by school language	245
8.2.4 Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by socio-economic status of the school and by community size	246
8.2.5 Political participation, liberalism-conservatism, conception of the goals of the school and training among French-speaking teachers in metropolitan areas, by socio-economic status of the school	247
8.2.6 Colleagues' expectations, perceived negative sanctions, perceived role conflict, subjects and secondary school level, by socio-economic status of the school among French-speaking teachers in metropolitan areas	249
8.2.7 Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by socio-economic status of the school and by perceived negative sanctions and perceived role conflict among French-speaking teachers of metropolitan areas	250
8.2.8 Teacher perception of the propensity of students to initiate political discussion, by socio-economic status of the school, among French-speaking teachers in metropolitan areas who discuss politics with students	251
8.3.1 Public or private status of schools where teachers work, by school language	255
8.3.2 French-speaking teachers in public and private schools, by socio-economic status of the school	256

Table	page
8.3.3 Propensity to discuss politics by public or private status of the school among French-speaking teachers in schools of high socio-economic status	256
8.3.4 Teachers' political participation, liberalism-conservatism, conception of the goals of the school and training, by public or private status of the schools among French-speaking teachers of high socio-economic status	257
8.3.5 Colleagues' expectations, perceived negative sanctions, secondary school level and subject taught, by public or private status of the school among French-speaking teachers in schools of high socio-economic status	259
A-1 Item-to-item and item-to-total correlation coefficients for the index of the propensity of teachers to discuss politics .	
A-2 Item-to-item and item-to-total correlation coefficients for the index of political participation	
A-3 Item-to-item and item-to-total correlation coefficients for the index of teacher liberalism-conservatism	
A-4 Item-to-item and item-to-total correlation coefficients for the index of the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school	
A-5 Item-to-item and item-to-total correlation coefficients for the index of the socio-economic status of the school	
A-6 Item-to-item and item-to-total correlation coefficients for the index of teachers' perceptions of negative sanctions in regard to political discussion	
A-7 Phi or Cramer's V Coefficients between propensity of teachers to discuss politics and the independent variables of the model of analysis with a control on the perceived negative sanctions among French-speaking teachers	

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	page
1 The Dunkin and Biddle model of the study of teaching	41
2 Outline of the model of analysis	63
3 Relationships of teachers' political and educational orientations to propensity of teachers to discuss politics (French-speaking teachers)	147
4 Relationships between the variables related to teacher's network of interaction, the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, and other independent variables (French-speaking teachers)	195
5 Relationships of social and occupational background variables with the propensity of teachers to discuss politics and other independent variables (French-speaking teachers)	229
6 Relationships between the community and organizational characteristics of the school and the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, and other independent variables (French-speaking teachers)	261

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this dissertation is to study the teachers' role in political socialization, i.e. in the process through which political information, orientations, values and behaviors are learned.

The school represents one of the agencies (along with the family, the mass media, peer groups, etc.) of political socialization. Several elements may contribute to the transmission of political orientations within the school: the curriculum, the subjects taught, textbooks, the teachers, extra-curricular activities, and the organizational structure of the school itself.

This dissertation focuses on the teachers' role in this process, and more particularly on the more explicit teacher interventions in socialization to politics, e.g. the discussion of political affairs with students.

The first objective of the analysis is to determine to what extent teachers tend to intervene explicitly in the students' political learning and to what extent the discussion of political affairs represents an important school process of socialization to politics. The second and main objective is to identify the forces likely to shape the teachers' role in this process. The model of analysis is based on the premise that the behavior of teachers as agents of political socialization

is conditioned by their political and educational orientations, their social and occupational backgrounds, situational elements related to the immediate network of interaction in which they have to perform their role, and by the larger community and organizational contexts of the schools where they teach.

The analysis will be carried out from survey data. The main source of data is a questionnaire which was administered in 1972 to a sample of more than 1600 high school teachers in Quebec. The sample, stratified according to the language of instruction, is representative of a group of high school teachers in the Province. Other data collected through questionnaires administered to parents, students and principals at schools where teachers were sampled will also be used in the analysis. This is a secondary analysis based on data gathered within the framework of a larger research project, the ASOPE project.¹

In the first chapter we will present the formulation of the research problem and briefly review existing literature on research on the school as an agency of political socialization and on teachers as agents who participate in this process. The model of analysis is developed in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 contains descriptive elements of the methodology of the research. The results of the analysis are presented in Chapters 4

¹ ASOPE is the abbreviation for the French project's title: "Aspirations scolaires et orientations professionnelles des étudiants". ASOPE is a longitudinal study on youth's aspirations in Quebec, which began in 1969-70 and continued until 1979. For a detailed description of the project, see P.W. Bélanger and G. Rocher, et al., "Research Project ASOPE", Communication presented at the Research Committee on Aspirations, Needs and Development, Eighth World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, Canada, August 1974. The research project has also been described in P.W. Bélanger and G. Rocher, "Le projet de recherche ASOPE". *Revue de l'orientation professionnelle*, 8 (2), été, pp. 114-127.

to 8. In Chapter 9, we will review the circumstances under which teachers intervene explicitly in student political learning. We will also point out the limits of our study and indicate questions for further research.

CHAPTER 1

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND RESEARCH ON POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

In the last few years many events have contributed to call attention to the function of the school in the political socialization of children and young people in Quebec. Political socialization refers to the process through which the individual acquires information, orientations and values relating to the political system of which he is a member and to his own role within that political system (Greenberg, 1970, p. 3).

In 1969, the Quebec Federation of Catholic School Boards issued a statement to its teachers. This statement forbade teachers to express partisan political opinions or to discuss philosophies and religions other than those preached by the parents. In 1970, during the October crisis, Quebec teachers were accused of indoctrinating children and adolescents with independentist and socialist ideas. A controversy led to the nomination, by the Department of Education, of a special inquirer to investigate this question.¹ In 1972, a group of French-speaking teachers published a

¹ A similar controversy developed in British Columbia. A teacher was dismissed after expressing his political view on the crisis. The teacher had told the students that federal Government was wrong to invoke the War Measures Act. The Provincial Cabinet issued an order-in-council stating "as public policy of the province... that no person teaching or instructing our youth in any educational system receiving public support should be in employment of that institution if he advocates the policies of the F.L.Q..." (cited in J. Eisenberg and G. MacQueen, 1973, p. 40).

manifesto (Corporation des enseignants du Québec, 1972). Its message was that the school system, far from disseminating new and revolutionary ideas, was at the service of, and contributed to reproduce, the dominant social classes. It appears thus that the problem of the function of the school and the role of teachers in socialization to politics are at the heart of the controversy.

This controversy has developed within the context of school reform in Quebec, growing teacher militancy, and the rise of French-canadian neo-nationalism in the sixties. First, school reform has brought about many changes in the orientations and organization of the school system. It was asked (1) to what extent is the political socialization of "post-school-reform" radically different from that of the previous generation? (2) if changes have occurred in political socialization, to what extent could school reform account for these changes as opposed to simultaneous changes brought about by other agencies of political socialization (e.g. the family and the mass media)? (3) if school reform has had an impact on these changes, what could have been the effect of the new patterns of recruitment of teachers into the profession?

Secondly, a growing militancy has characterized the Quebec teachers' unions during the last decade.² This militantist orientation has challenged the compliant and deferential image that teachers traditionally have had. To what extent and in what manner did this new militancy affect the role of teachers in political socialization?

² Leblanc (1972) has described the movement. Bernier et al (1973) have analysed the structure, the functioning and the ideological orientation of local teachers' unions.

Thirdly, the rise of French-canadian neo-nationalism and the development of the independentist movement during the sixties have indicated that a certain proportion of French Quebecers were questioning their support of the Canadian political community. According to Jaros (1973)

"Non-support for the political community could be demonstrated in a variety of ways; it could be shown by almost any kind of political non-conformity. But perhaps the most obvious types of behavior would be separatism and emigration. The current French separatist movement in Quebec is clearly community level behavior. No doubt, Canadian officials are wondering how Quebec separatists were socialized to their anti-community beliefs" (p. 30).

Again it has been asked to what extent did political socialization, and more particularly the schools and teachers in this process, fail to create this political support?

On the one hand, one should not overestimate the impact of socialization and cultural variables on the stability of a political system in general, and on the rise of a particular political movement. Structural variables can also account for the development of a political movement as shown by Guindon (1964) in the case of the independentist movement, and as illustrated by Pinard (1971) in the case of the Social Credit Party.

On the other hand, many researchers have pointed out differences in the transmission of political information and values between the French and English communities in Canada. Johnstone (1969) has shown the sharp ethnic differences in perceptions (perceptions of the country in general, of the political system, of the opportunity structure) and in attitudes (attitudes towards bilingualism) among young Canadians. Lamy (1970) has

raised the question as to whether political socialization in French and English Canada is a socialization into discord. Richert (1973) has studied the different attitudes that young French and English Quebecers develop toward government. In this respect, Sullivan et al. (1970) have stressed the uniqueness of the Canadian situation (political structure and informal political traditions) in the study of political socialization.

Sevigny (1966), Leduc (1966), Trudel et Jain (1970), and Jain (1974) have also documented the different versions of Canadian history taught to children in schools. Hodgetts (1972) has raised the problems of teaching history and social studies in Canada. All these researchers have identified differences in the transmission of political information and political values between the two language groups.³

There is a fourth contextual element which is not directly related to the controversy we referred to but still is related to the role of the school in political socialization. This is the debate about the role of the school in the integration of immigrant children into the two language communities in Quebec. This problem is at the center of the debates on the language of education and on school restructuring in Montreal. It concerns the role of the school in the development of a political community, in the inculcation of political loyalties and in the political socialization of immigrant children.

³ Many authors (Marvick (1965), Jaros, Hirsch and Fleron (1968), Engstrom (1970), Greenberg (1970), Lyons (1970), Hirsch (1971) and Clarke (1973), in another political context, have pointed out a plurality of political milieux within the same political community. They have also shown how different ethnic groups are socialized to divergent political orientations.

1.1. The research problem

It is in this social context that the function of the school in political socialization has held attention in Quebec⁴, and we have decided to study the role of teachers in this process. This dissertation focus on their more explicit interventions in socialization to politics, e.g. discussion of political affairs with the students.

To what extent do high school teachers play an active role in this process? Do they consider the school to be an important agency of political socialization? Do they tend to intervene explicitly in the students' political education? Do they discuss politics with the students? In what circumstances? What are the forces likely to shape the role of teachers in this process? These are the questions we will try to answer in this study.

But is it not paradoxical to assume that teachers have a role to play in political socialization when many citizens, school administrators and teachers regard the school as an "a-political" institution? Can we assume that the educational system has a political function and that teachers are agents of political socialization?

The politics of education is a rather new area of research. The relative lack of interest on the part of educators and political scientists in the study of the political character of the school may be attributed, as Kirst and Moshef (1969) have pointed out, to the fact that they have

⁴ This concern is not particular to Quebec society. In most industrialized countries, the school system has rapidly developed, has been reoriented and has been sharply criticized over the last decades. A general concern for the impact (political and other) of the school system has grown out of these developments.

been influenced, if not biased, by the predominant ideology which holds that schools are not political institutions, and that education should be kept out of politics. In this ideological context, the educational system appears to be a closed system, divorced from its political environment.

It is not surprising that this ideology has inhibited the study of the relationships between education and politics. It reflects a misunderstanding of what politics is. In its perspective, politics is reduced to the level of political parties or partisan politics, whose practices are far from being perceived as always respectable. In this view it appears better to remove education from politics. This conception of politics obviously does not correspond to the definition of politics which political scientists have tended to adopt. Their conception refers to the general decision-making process of a society, to the processes by which its objectives and priorities are defined, and to struggles by individuals and groups to influence these processes and to secure the authoritative support of government so that their objectives may be implemented. According to this definition, much of what was traditionally regarded as apolitical is actually highly political.

It is even less surprising that this ideology has inhibited the study of the politics of education when it is situated in the historical and political context in which it has flourished. Tyack (1974), in an historical analysis of education in the USA, has shown that this ideology became widespread by the end of the nineteenth century. In a reinterpretation of the "progressive movement" that evolved between 1890 and 1920, the author tries to illustrate that one of the aims of the "progressive" reformers

was to remove the schools from local partisan politics and political corruption, and to react against what they perceived as excessive decentralization.

Wirt and Kirst (1972) have characterized the reform movement and its ideology in the following way:

"By 1910, a conventional educational wisdom had evolved among the schoolmen and leading business and professional men who spearheaded the reforms. The watchwords of reform became centralization, expertise, professionalization, non-political control, and efficiency. The governance structure needed to be revised so that school boards would be small, elected at large, and purged of all connections with political parties and general government officials, such as mayors and councilmen. It was sometimes a very small group of patricians who secured new charters from state legislatures and thereby reorganized the urban schools without a popular vote in the cities" (p. 7).

Thus it appears that the ideology of an apolitical educational system has developed in a political environment in which professionals of education and a social elite found it to their advantage to maintain this folklore. According to Halsey and Karabel (1977)

"... the movement to centralize city school systems at the turn of the century, ostensibly devoted to giving power to non-political professional experts, actually established the dominance by a social elite over urban education" (p. 368).

In Quebec, it may be affirmed that the same ideology, which holds that the school is or should be apolitical, has prevailed. The problem of the political character of the school was set less however in relation to the decentralization issue than in relation to the issue of the control of education by the state or the church. This ideology, when situated in the historical context of Quebec, also actually appears to have established the dominance of the education system by an elite. As Ouellet (1961) has

shown in a historical study of education in the nineteenth century, it seems to have consolidated the dominance of the church against the state, and a faction of the middle class over the educational system. This ideology, which holds that public education should be controlled by the church and not by the state, has shown impressive longevity. As a matter of fact, this problem has been central to the debate which preceded the creation of the Department of Education in 1964 (Dion, 1967).

In spite of these ideological inhibiting forces, during the sixties the politics of education began to develop as a field of research. According to Harman (1974, p. 268), the growing public concern and turmoil about education and related social problems (student demonstrations, complaints from parents about educational facilities, growing militancy of teachers, soaring costs of public education, etc.) are not extraneous to the emergence of this field of research.

The main stimuli to research came from the studies in political science, school administration and sociology of education. According to Kirst and Mosher (1969, p. 624), the area of study emerging from different research traditions remains however a complex and unstructured field of scientific inquiry characterized by an "eclectic set of research problems, conceptual framework and techniques", and "unstable and untested methodology". Little agreement exists about priorities of research and theories.

In the field of school administration, earlier studies tended to ignore the impact of political variables on the internal structure of the school. Researchers became increasingly concerned with the understanding of the social and political context in which the schools operate. They

were influenced in that direction by sociologists of education. Studies carried out by sociologists on the problems related to control of the educational system, patterns of authority in the school administration, centralization and decentralization issues, the bureaucratic character of the school, the professionalization of teaching, and the political environment of the school (Clark (1962), Bidwell (1965), Corwin (1965), Anderson (1968)) have led the researcher in the area of school administration to situate school administration processes in their broader social context. These studies also contributed to call the researcher's attention to the impact of both the political context and the larger policy-making process on the way the school system is structured and governed. Researchers in the area of school administration have also been influenced in this direction by political scientists.

In political science, two currents of research contributed to shed some light onto education-policy interrelations: research on educational policy, and research on political socialization.

The first current contributed to direct the attention of researchers to education as an area falling under the control of government policy. Kirst and Mosher (1969) have characterized these studies in the following way:

"Studies of this genre have been concerned with three issues: 1) the allocative effects of political actions - who gets what, when and how; 2) the nature of the present educational-political system and changes in its characteristics over time; 3) the effectiveness of the system in reaching what researchers have deemed to be desirable policy objectives - e.g. innovation, increased fiscal support, community participation, etc. Most of the research has treated questions of allocation: How are decisions made? Who exerts influence upon decisions about budgets, curricula, facilities, desegregation, etc.: and upon whom

are those influences exerted? Who shares in the benefits of political activities? Under what conditions is community control of schools and professional educators maximized?" (p. 623).

The study by Wirt and Kirst (1972) is probably one of the most representative studies of this current of research. In it they tried to apply the system analysis framework to the school system, which they studied as an area of policy from the point of view of the decision-making process. Zeigler and Jennings (1974) have also conducted a study on the local school as an authoritative and representative political body in the school system.

The second current which, in political science, contributed to call greater attention to the political character of the school system is constituted by the studies in political socialization. Research on the learning of political orientations has been conducted in many theoretical directions and on different aspects of this process. Zureik (1977) has described the orientation of this research very concisely.

"The thrust of current research is directed toward assessing the nature of the socialization process in terms of how political values develop chronologically and cognitively, the relative importance of the various socialization agencies, the relationship between personality structure and political orientations, and the impact that the political culture of a society might have on the development of political values among young people." (p. 117).

This research does not only explore the school as an agency of political socialization. Some of these studies have also been devoted to the analysis of the function of the school and the role of teachers in this process, and have thus contributed to identify other aspect of the political character of the school system.

Thus, in the research context of the politics of education, it no longer appears paradoxical to assume that the school system has a political character and that teachers are agents of political socialization. The school system is an area falling under the control of government policy. Its structure and functioning are influenced by its political environment, and one of its functions is to participate in socialization to politics.

Once we had decided to focus our research on teachers as agents of political socialization, it was possible to formulate the research problem in two directions. Firstly, we could try to assess the effect of teacher mediation or intervention in the political socialization process on the students' political learning. The research would have then focused on the students' political learning as the dependent variable. The objective would have been to determine the effect on the students' political learning of teachers' characteristics and/or interventions (independent variables), while controlling for other variables known to be important predictors of learning (e.g. cognitive ability, socio-economic status of the family, etc.). Secondly, we could try to circumscribe the role of teachers in the process and to study their interventions. The research would have then focused on the teachers' interventions (not on the students' political learning) as the dependent variables, and on the forces (independent variables) likely to shape the role of teachers as agents of political socialization.

We have chosen the second course because the present state of research on teachers as agents of political socialization did not realistically allow us to undertake the kind of study which the first course would have required. We share Evans' (1971) concern about the feasibility at this time of a research project centering on the impact of teachers on

the student's political learning.

"Ideally a research project would be able to throw light on the problem of transmission, i.e. what processes relate specific characteristics of teachers to specific attitudes and values of pupils. For the moment, though, this goal must remain on the horizon, while investigation begins the process of gathering information about the teachers, the pupils, and the ways in which they interact. The complexities of demonstrating causal relations between teachers and pupils are many, and the state of our understanding of the situation is too meager to hold much promise of being able to design suitable experiments" (p. 17).

The measurement and the process of isolating the teachers' effect appeared so complex that it would not have been realistic, in the present state of development of research, for a single researcher working in the context of a limited research project to formulate his research project in such terms. We thus decided to focus our research directly on teacher intervention in socialization to politics and on the variables likely to influence the role of teachers in the process, rather than on the effects of teacher intervention on the student's political learning.

But how do teachers come to intervene in political socialization at school? What kind of interventions are they? What are the variables likely to shape the role of teachers in regard to political socialization? Before presenting our model of analysis in Chapter Two and in order to gain a better understanding of teacher interventions in socialization to politics in the school, we will now try to place the role of teachers in political socialization into the larger context of the school system. To begin with, however, we will briefly comment on the emergence of research on political socialization and its main orientations.

1.2. The main orientations of research on political socialization

Political socialization has long been of interest to classical political thinkers. Greenstein (1968) even asserts that scholarly interest in political socialization is coeval with the beginnings of political theory. Plato and Aristotle, as well as Rousseau, for example, have underlined their belief that education of young people may provide the foundation for life in society and political stability. All these thinkers emphasize the deliberate aspect of civic education on both character development and training for citizenship.

The more recent interest in political socialization developed in the fifties with the behavioral "revolution" in political science.⁵ This new orientation implied a shift from the study of comparative government (constitutions and political institutions) to the observation of human behavior within institutions, from the "ought to be" to "is" issues in political life (voting, pressure groups, political decision-making processes, political movements, etc.). In the field of political socialization, this meant a shift of emphasis from a normative perspective on political education to an empirical analysis of the phenomena, and a shift from the study of the deliberate aspect of civic education to that of the complex learning process involved in the internalization of political orientations and the impact of this process on the political system.

Merelman (1972, p. 135) traces back the emergence of political socialization as a field of research to Hyman (1959), who first coined

5 Jaros (1973) has pointed out that "the new study of political socialization does not represent the discovery of a new problem. It is more accurate to say that attention has been refocused on one of the venerable and enduring questions of political life" (p. 9).

the term political socialization. Hyman was influenced by the post-war studies on the authoritarian personality (Adorno et al., 1950). His objective was to study the political behavior of the masses in a psychological perspective and to present empirical studies as evidence of support for such a mode of analysis. He worked from different sets of data gathered through research on public opinion, electoral behavior, political recruitment and political participation. From this kind of data he tried to document variations in political participation, in political orientations, and in authoritarian-democratic trends among American youth. He also tried to show how these patterns of political socialization developed with age, and to assess the impact of different agencies (family, school, etc.) on this process. Thus he contributed to making the political socialization process known, to showing its importance to society and to identifying some of the main research problems of this emerging field of research.

At the same time, many political scientists, influenced by the behaviorist movement in political science and dissatisfied with the static and formalistic approaches of their discipline within the field of comparative government, became interested in the development of new paradigms for the comparison of political systems, and of theories and approaches that would deal with political change.

It is in this context that Almond (1960), in describing his functional approach to comparative politics, identified political socialization as an "input function" of the political system. Evans (1971) indicates in which direction the studies in comparative politics and political development were oriented.

"As further research was available (in political development), it became increasingly clear that the

amount and type of education provided within a country was an important determinant of the level of political development... Thus attempts were made to relate measures of the amount of education to development of different types of political structure... In this context, increasing importance was placed on attitudes, beliefs and values of individuals as a significant aspect of the basis for any political system." (p. 5).

This is why Almond and Verba (1960) introduced the complementary concept of political culture. This concept refers to a set of attitudes, cognitions, values and feelings towards the political system, its various roles, and role incumbents. The main assumption behind Almond's concept is that a political system is embedded in a political culture, which is a differentiated part of culture and which has a certain autonomy. This concept has also been designed to bridge the gap between psychological and societal dimensions and between macro-analysis and micro-analysis of politics. In this general perspective, political socialization has been defined as the process of induction into political culture.

It was in the wake of Hyman's and Almond's studies that the first political socialization studies began to develop. Almond and Verba (1963) published the first empirical study on political culture and political socialization. They applied the technique of survey research to the comparative study of political culture and to the study of some aspects of political socialization in five countries. Greenstein (1965), who participated in the movement which, in political science, applied some form of psychological theorizing to the study of politics, tried to adapt the Freudian framework to the study of political socialization, and chose to focus his research upon the attitudes towards political authorities. According to Merelman (1972), this orientation contributed to conceiving

political orientation as diffuse, deepset responses to environmental stimuli, influenced by unconscious motivation, and, in accordance with psychoanalytic theory, to focusing political socialization research priorities on childhood.

While Greenstein was mainly concerned with the formation of political attitudes, a few years later Easton and Dennis (1969) proposed a political theory of political socialization which puts emphasis on the consequences of political socialization for the political system. Within the framework of the system theory, political socialization has the function of generating diffuse support for the political system and thus contributes to the persistence of the system.

It is through these first studies that political socialization emerged as a field of research in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. According to Schwartz and Schwartz (1975, p. 5), the research orientations proposed by the authors who opened the field of research still characterize the studies which have proliferated ever since.

According to Prewitt et al. (1970, p. 203) and Jaros (1973, pp. 17-21), two main orientations have characterized political socialization research.

The first orientation, macro-level research, has been mainly concerned with the articulation of political socialization, and its impact on the political system. Concern for the system effects of political socialization reflects the attempt to define one of the rationales of political socialization research. The answer to the question "why is political socialization research relevant" partly depends on the answer

to another question: "What is the impact of political socialization on the operation of the political system". According to this orientation, political socialization appears as an independant variable to "explain" the political system.

The impact of political socialization on the political system was first defined in terms of political stability (Almond, 1960; Sigel, 1965). The thesis was that political socialization contributes to the maintenance of the political system by transmitting political norms and values, and then by creating a consensus or a cultural homogeneity that assures political stability. The problem was reformulated by Almond himself (1966), and by Easton and Dennis (1969). Their reformulation is based on two assumptions: (a) political socialization may contribute to change, instability, and conflict, as well as to the maintenance of the status quo, stability, and order;⁶ (b) political socialization may contribute to creating only a minimal consensus on the political process (Almond) or minimal support for the political regime (Easton and Dennis), instead of a homogeneous political culture.

The second orientation, micro-level research, is more concerned with the process by which political orientations are learned. How are political values, attitudes and behaviors learned and internalized? Who learns what, from whom, with what effects, and under what circumstances? Political socialization appears here as the dependant variable.

⁶ Whether or not one output prevails over the other appears as a matter for empirical evidence. According to Easton and Dennis, this would depend on the prior state of the political system, on what one generation transmits to another, and on what the socializee independently learns from his own experience.

This type of research has focused mainly on the content (orientations, values and ideologies learned by the socializee) of political socialization and on agents of socialization. As far as the content is concerned, Jaros (1973, ch. 2) identifies from Easton's classification three sets of learned political orientations corresponding to three levels of political phenomena: the political community, the political regime, and the government. First, one has to learn to recognize the political community to which he belongs, and to develop a certain type of patriotism and nationalism. This is community level socialization. Second, one has to learn to abide by the rules set by the community, and to become familiar with the constitutional order and institutions of its political regime. This is regime-level socialization. Third, one has to learn to formulate opinions on policy issues, on policy makers, and on the candidates and parties one votes for. This is government level socialization. According to Renshon (1977) this concentration on political attitudes represents too narrow a focus. The author suggests orienting research towards the development of para-political attitudes and beliefs about the nature of time and space, one's self, personal control, other people, the world, means to attain valued ends, etc.

As far as agents of political socialization are concerned, the family and the school are among those which have been the most closely explored. According to Schwartz (1977), researchers have tended to assume that political orientations and beliefs displayed by socializing agents were acquired through a process of transfer of values, occurring when the socializee is exposed to the influence of the socializing agents with sufficient frequency. This tacit assumption concerning agents of

socialization led researchers "to justify research designs that seek simply to measure how well the values of these two (socializer and socializee) coincide or to associate the acquisition of attitude with length of exposure to a socializing agent" (p. 216). The author points to the need to refine this model. She believes that the transfer from the socializer to the socializee may depend on the salience to the agent of the attitude in question, the frequency of exposure, the absence of competing influence, or the importance of the relationship of the socializee with the socializer. She recommends (a) focussing research on the conditional nature of the socializer's influence instead of simply assuming a transfer of values, (b) working on the assumption that the socializee may proceed to an evaluative synthesis and play a creative role "in choosing among alternative responses to multiple socializing experiences", and (c) empirically measuring the frequency with which "political communications naturally occur in most families and schools".

Another criticism of political socialization research with regard to agencies of socialization is that this research has tended to ignore the role of television and the mass media as agencies of socialization. (Schwartz and Manella (1975), and Chaffee (1977)). This criticism could also be extended to other agents such as churches, labour unions, professions, businesses, voluntary associations, etc.

Our study of teachers as agents of political socialization belongs to the second orientation (micro-level research) of the study on socialization to politics. In order to situate teachers within the larger context of the school system in which they have to perform their role, we will briefly review research which has been done on the school as an agency of political socialization.

1.3. The school as an agency of political socialization

The evidence concerning the importance of the school as an agency of political socialization is rather mixed. Greenstein (1965) and Davis (1965) regard the family as the most important agency. Hess and Torney (1965) on the contrary, conclude that the school is the most important agency. Hirsh (1970) states that the school is a "fairly salient agency in the apalachian culture". In his study of the impact of school quality on the transmission of political information and of democratic values, Merelman (1971) concludes that the effect of school quality is rather "limited and mainly compensatory".

However one may wonder as does Jones (1977) whether the impact of the school on the political socialization process will not increase as people become more aware of the political character of the school. But in the present state of the research, it appears difficult to assess the relative importance of the school as an agency of political socialization. Nevertheless authors have begun to identify different processes through which the school transmits political information and beliefs, processes which we will now describe.

Many processes in the school may contribute to the student's learning of political orientations.

A. The curriculum. The curriculum is seen to be a major instrument. It is assumed that the school system determines the political norms to be transmitted through the curriculum. Authors disagree however on the impact of the curriculum on political socialization.

With regard to civic education courses, Litt (1963) found a certain congruence between the content of textbooks used in a community and the political orientations of the members of this community. He also found that civic education courses resulted in greater support for democratic ideals and in a reduction of political chauvinism. But the effects of civic education vary according to the social class of the students. In working class communities, where political involvement is low, civic education seems to deemphasize the importance of political participation and to transmit a passive and idealistic view of politics. Only in the upper-middle class community, characterized by a higher level of political involvement, does civic education emphasize political action and the use of power as a means to influence decision-making. It seems then that civic education fails to inculcate attitudes of political participation "without some degree of reinforcement from its material and political environment" (p. 168).

In their study of high school twelfth graders, Langton and Jennings (1968) found that civics courses had a less significant effect than the Litt study suggested. According to the authors, this small effect may not even be the result of socialization at all, but rather of selection. There is reason to believe however that student sub-populations are affected differently by the curriculum and that civics courses exert a considerably greater influence on Blacks than on Whites.

Rodgers' (1973) analysis supports the Langton and Jennings findings that civic courses have little impact on the political orientations of white students or on the degree to which they are informed. He concludes however that more attention should be given to the intervening

effects of the school environment in determining the impact of the curriculum. For example, civics courses have more effect on Black students in integrated schools than in segregated schools.

While many authors tend to down play the influence of the curriculum upon political socialization, Cohen (1973) has tried to supply evidence that formal education processes have a significant effect on political socialization. He also tried to specify the conditions under which civics courses have an impact on political attitudes. Civics courses will be influential:

"(1) When the information is new; (2) When the value or informational content of what is taught is in harmony with that held by other powerful socializing agents; (3) When the content of the teaching is of direct interest or relevance to the student; (4) When the student has a tendency or predisposition to act or believe in the ways suggested by the teaching experience; (5) When the values, information, behavior or whatever which are to be changed are clearly enunciated in advance and then dealt with in the classroom" (p. 196).

The debate on the impact of the curriculum on political socialization is not closed. Cohen's proposition to specify the conditions of its influence, and to separate different aspects of this process - course content, the teacher's expression of his own views, teaching methods and reinforcement by other agents - opens an interesting avenue of research. It would also be necessary to study the impact of subject matters other than civics courses, such as history, geography, religion, etc.

B. Classroom ritual life represents another process of transmitting political values and orientations. Indicators of classroom ritual life are for example saluting the flag, singing patriotic songs, honoring national leaders, heroes and events. As Dawson and Prewitt (1969, pp. 155-157)

suggest, these ceremonial expressions of devotion to the nation may reinforce basic feelings of patriotism and loyalty, and emphasize the collective nature of patriotism.

C. The teacher. The teacher may exert a personal influence on political socialization beyond or through the curriculum. In a study of the ideological universe of elementary school teachers, Bélanger and Juneau (1961) have formulated the following assumptions: (a) the school determines the cultural norms to be transmitted, (b) these representations are conveyed by the curriculum and text books, (c) teachers do not necessarily reproduce these representations, but participate in the redefinition of their role in the process of transmission with regard to new situations. Teachers interpret what the school system wants them to transmit to the students. Teachers may also affect the school's political socialization in many other ways.

First, the classroom climate created by, or the pedagogical approach used by a teacher may have an indirect impact on the learning of political values. As Jaros (1969) points out,

"Manifestly non-political educational experiences may have implications for the learning of participatory values. Educators have long argued that permissive and participatory classroom milieu contribute to the development of critical 'reflective' and involved citizens, who are considered to be the keystone of democratic society" (p. 97).

Almond and Verba (1963) have shown in a cross-cultural study that adults who recall having experienced such a participatory classroom milieu while in high school are more inclined to participate in politics. Bronfenbrenner (1970) has documented how different systematic pedagogical

approaches, especially the uses and the "manipulation" of peer group influence, may result in different socialization outputs.

Second, teachers may also have an impact on political socialization through overt discussion of political matters and through expression of their own values and opinions in the classroom. As Jaros (1973) points out

"... There are sources of political values other than curriculum to which teachers may respond in communicating with pupils. Most obvious among these are teachers' own attitudes and beliefs, which might be a basis for change induced in pupils regardless of whether or not the teachers agree with anything in the curriculum" (p. 104).

According to Zeigler (1967), teachers are rather reluctant to discuss political matters with students and to overtly express their political opinion in the classroom. They tend to define the value role of the teacher as one of overt neutrality.

This does not mean that the political ideologies of teachers have no impact on their classroom behavior. Lighfoot (1973) has shown, in a participant observation study of two classrooms taught by Black teachers that (a) the political ideology of a teacher may indirectly permeate and be inextricably intertwined with his or her pedagogical approach, (b) differences in political ideology are reflected in differences in educational philosophy and practice, (c) these differences may result in different ways of structuring the classroom environment "to encourage" or discourage cognitive reasoning and elaborative thinking on the part of children" (p. 241).

Third, teachers may also discuss political issues and express political values through informal contacts with students outside the classroom. However there has been little investigation of this process. Fourth, teachers may have an impact on the political orientation of children without any conscious effort, through the process through which students identify with teachers. Teachers may be seen as models for some behaviors or attitudes. But again no research has been done on this aspect of the problem.

D. Extra-curricular activities. Dawson and Prewitt (1969, ch. 9) distinguish two types of extra-curricular activities: school-based activities and student political groups and activities. It is often assumed that, like adult political associations, these activities produce more well-rounded citizens.

School-based activities may be instrumental in training students for political participation and in internalizing of their participatory values. Ziblatt (1965), however, has shown that these activities have a rather limited influence on political socialization.

"High School extra-curricular activities are a source of the informal status network in American high schools... The data indicate... that a feeling of integration into the high school status system is associated with social trust. It is this social trust and not the direct experience of extra-curricular participation which is linked with a positive attitude towards politics" (p. 322).

Students may also participate in student political groups. It is difficult to assess this type of political participation at the high school level or to specify the impact of it on political socialization. Dawson and Prewitt (1969, ch. 9) have identified the three following patterns. Students' participation in such groups tends to radicalize

their political orientations either to the left or to the right. Students of liberal orientations tend to be more involved in student movements than their conservative classmates. Though representing a minority of students, student movements influence a large part of the student population.

f. The social structure of the school setting. Dreeben (1968) has shown how, independently of curriculum and other explicit processes, the social structure of school (and family) settings may contribute to the transmission of values, norms and orientations. The structure of the school setting contributes more particularly to the learning of the following norms: independence, achievement, universalism and specificity. According to the author, norms of specificity and universalism contribute to the widespread acquisition of capacities likely to support a two-party democratic political system.

Processes through which the school may contribute to political socialization have been described. Many aspects of these processes have not yet been investigated. In some cases (e.g. the curriculum) research has produced controversial results. It appears that it is not only through explicit teacher intervention that political socialization takes place in the school system. The curriculum, classroom ritual life, extra-curricular activities, the social structure of the school setting, as well as teachers' explicit intervention represent so many processes through which political information and orientations may be conveyed by the school system and learned by the students. But teachers are called upon to play an important role since they may in many circumstances act as mediators between what the school system intends to transmit to the students and the student themselves in their process of political learning.

1.4. Empirical research on teachers as agents of political socialization

Studies on the school as an agency of political socialization have pointed to different processes through which political orientations could be transmitted to the students. What does empirical research indicate about teachers as agents of political socialization?

Empirical studies on the school as an agency of socialization have tended to concentrate, as we saw in a previous section, on the impact of courses, textbooks and curriculum, on the student's political learning. Very little empirical research has been conducted on teachers as agents of political socialization. According to Jaros (1968),

"Good reason exists, however, to believe that the critical variables in any school learning experience are mediated by teachers per se and that formal instructional context is a secondary consideration" (p. 284).

In his research on social studies teachers, Jaros (1968) has tried to measure teaching by these teachers of four participatory values of civic culture (sense of civic competence and of subject competence, desirability of party activity and sense of obligation to participate). This dependent variable was "measured by inferring from free responses to each of four hypothetical students queries which were put to the subjects" (p. 288). Though we may question this way of operationalizing the dependant variable (and other variables used in the research), this research represents an attempt at measuring teaching of political norms by teachers. His objective was to explain the differences in the degrees to which the teacher teaches participatory values by the following four types of independent variables: the teacher's social background, the teacher's training, professional norms, and community norms.

Jaros found that social background variables had an impact on the teaching of participatory values primarily among young teachers. Teacher training variables were found to have a more important impact than social background variables. The community and professional norms as perceived by teachers were found "to have a modest role in supplanting earlier influences".

In a more extensive study on teachers and political socialization, Zeigler (1967) has chosen to explore the political life of high school teachers. His concern in this research was not with the impact of the school and teachers on a student's political learning, but with the orientations and the behavior of teachers as agents of socialization. He wanted to determine (a) what teachers' values, beliefs and perceptions are, and (b) do these affect them in playing their political roles, in their professional organizations, and in the classroom. Zeigler's assumptions were the following:

"Teachers may not necessarily be influential within the power structure of the school considered as an organization, but it is they who are the vital cog in the educational subsystem for it is they who have the most direct and sustained interaction with students. It is the teacher who, whether deliberately or indirectly, suggests or emphasizes certain political values and avoids discussion of others. It is important, therefore, to know what teachers believe and to what extent they transmit their beliefs to students." (p. 2)

In relation to his first objective (the study of teachers' values, beliefs and perceptions), Zeigler has tried to reconstitute their attitudes towards their work (in terms of job satisfaction), their political values (in terms of political liberalism and conservatism), their educational values (in terms of educational conservatism and progressivism) and their personal orientation towards life (in terms of personal strictness, need

for respect, and tolerance of change). Basically, he tried to assess the impact of sex, income, teaching experience, and social mobility on the perceptions, beliefs and values which teachers have.

In relation to his second objective, Zeigler tried to assess the impact of teachers' characteristics, beliefs and values on (a) their conception of, their participation in, and their satisfaction towards their professional organizations; (b) their tendency to express themselves politically (intra-class and extra-class expressivism), their behavior within the classroom with regard to political discussions, and their acceptance to discuss politics with the students.

These two aspects of teacher life are defined as two areas of teacher role activation that can be influenced by the already mentioned characteristics and beliefs which teachers have. Zeigler also tried to analyze teachers' perceptions of community sanctions which could encourage or inhibit their playing a political role in professional organizations and in the classroom.

It is in the wake of Zeigler's study that other researchers conducted more limited studies on teachers' political expressivism (a teacher's tendency or willingness to express himself politically within and/or outside the classroom). Ungs (1968) tried to assess the impact of the type of community (rural-urban), of a teacher's training, and of a teacher's experience on expressivism of social studies teachers. Jennings and Zeigler (1970) studied the influence of community characteristics (region, size of the community) and of occupational characteristics (occupational training and career patterns) on the expressivism of social studies teachers. In a similar study, Jones (1971, 1972) tried to assess

the impact of demographic and occupational variables and of attitude toward change on the expressivism of a group of high school teachers.

Evans (1971) also studied political expressivism of high school teachers. In a case study of teachers as agents of national development in Uganda, he attempted to draw a profile of the teachers' attitudes and values that were assumed to be relevant to their role as agents of socialization. Three important dimensions were identified and "stated in such a way as to describe a teacher who is presumed to be an effective agent for the national goals of the country" (p. 20). First, a good socializing agent for the country would have a favourable opinion of the government, should be aware of national affairs and should be ready to discuss national affairs with the pupils. Second, a good agent for the training of people in the skills required by a modern democracy should favor pupil participation in the decision-making process of the school, and would be concerned about the relevance of the curriculum content for Uganda. Third, to be an effective agent a teacher should be aware of the students' social and cultural backgrounds, should have a favourable perception of the traditional culture, and should be involved in community activities.

Evans' main objectives were to describe Uganda's teachers according to these dimensions and to compare different types of teachers (British trained, Peace Corps, Missionnaires, Africans, Asians, etc.). One of his assumptions was that differences in teachers' backgrounds would have "significant implications for the effects that the schools have on the attitudes, values and knowledge of the pupils" (p. 17).

Thus, the little empirical research on teachers as agents of political socialization tends to focus on the measurement of a teacher's

teaching of political orientations, or a teacher's political expressivism in the classroom or outside the class. This analysis consists in assessing the effect on their teaching, on their political expressivism, on their political and para-political attitudes, or on their beliefs and perceptions, of some of the following variables: their social background, training, experience, ideological orientations, political participation, participation in professional organizations, work satisfaction and perceptions of community sanctions, as well as the characteristics of the schools and of the communities where the schools are located, etc. None of this research proposes a comprehensive and integrated model to assess the effects of these variables on the shaping of the teacher's role as an agent of political socialization.

Much of this research focused only on social studies teachers. We believe that an attempt should be made to develop such a comprehensive model of analysis, and that this kind of study should not be restricted to social studies teachers. We now turn to the formulation of the research problem and to the development of our model of analysis.

CHAPTER 2

THE MODEL OF ANALYSIS

The previous review of the literature has shown that there are several elements within the school system which contribute to the transmission of political orientations: the curriculum, the subject matter, textbooks, extra-curricular activities, classroom ritual life, the organizational structure of the school, and the teachers themselves. The reader will also recall that teachers in particular may have an impact on the student's political learning in at least three different ways. First, they may have an effect on students without consciously seeking to intervene in the student's political learning, through the process of student identification with and imitation of the teachers. Second, they may also have an indirect effect on the student's political learning through the climate they create in the classroom or through the pedagogical approach or teaching style they emphasize. For example, a permissive or participatory classroom milieu may have an impact on the student's conception of authority or on the development of attitudes of political participation. Teachers may also intervene more directly or more explicitly in the student's political learning through overt discussion of political affairs with them both inside and outside the classroom.

2.1. The dependent variable: explicit intervention of teachers in socialization to politics

We have chosen to focus the formulation of our research problem on direct and explicit teacher interventions in the transmission of political orientations through overt political discussion with students. In selecting such a research orientation, we are conscious that we are omitting from our investigation important components of the teacher's role of mediation in political socialization. This sets a limit on our research. We have chosen to do so for the following reasons:

(a) The study of more explicit teacher interventions in political socialization in the school is relevant if we agree with Zeigler (1967, p. 53) that teachers' political discussion with students represents a classroom situation where "the teacher's role is activated". In this perspective, teachers' political discussion with students appears to be a good indicator of one dimension of the role of teachers in the political socialization which takes place in school.

(b) At an ideological level, we tend to agree with Jones (1971) about the importance of teachers' extensive classroom discussion with students. In as much as these discussions can contribute to the development of participatory attitudes and of political skills consistent with the goals of a democratic society, it appears relevant to determine the extent and the circumstances of classroom political discussions, the way in which teachers define their role in regard to political discussion, their strategies, and the variables likely to influence the behavior of teachers in regard to political discussion.

(c) The study of the forces influencing the behavior of teachers with regard to political discussion with students may illustrate some of the forces also at work in the shaping of other and less explicit teacher interventions in political socialization, and of other processes of political socialization in the school.

(d) In the Quebec context, where the research has been conducted, the problem of the role of teachers in political socialization has been raised, as we saw in Chapter 1, mainly in relation to the more explicit intervention of teachers in political socialization, or teachers' political discussion with students. This does not mean that we should necessarily formulate a research problem in the same terms as it may have been raised by the public. As a matter of fact, a researcher often has to demonstrate that a problem has to be formulated in terms that are broader, or even completely different from the first perception people have of the problem. However, in the formulation of his research problem, a researcher is allowed to take into account concerns that may have developed among the public about the problem, if these concerns are compatible with a legitimate research orientation.

(e) The opportunity to have access to data in relation to this research orientation has also been a determining factor in the formulation of the problem. The opportunity to work from data collected by surveys of teachers, and also, but to a lesser extent, of parents, students and principals, has ruled out the alternative of proceeding by participant observation to the study of the more implicit mechanisms of political value transmission through the school. As we shall see in Chapter 3, the analysis will be carried out from survey data. The main source of data is a questionnaire

which was administered to a sample of high school teachers in Quebec. Other data collected through questionnaires administered to the parents, the students and the principal in the schools where teachers were sampled will also be used in the analysis. Our study is a secondary analysis of data collected within the framework of ASOPE, the larger research project.

We can now more specifically identify the objectives of our research. What we are mainly interested in is to measure the propensity of teachers to intervene explicitly in the political socialization of the students. This is our dependent variable. The main empirical indicator of this variable will be an index of the propensity of teachers to discuss politics (as reported by the teachers themselves) with the students, both inside class and outside the classroom, in the course of discussions either related or unrelated to the subjects they teach.¹ We also want to identify variables which contribute to shape the role of teachers in political socialization, and to assess the effect of different independent variables likely to account for explicit interventions of teachers in the process.

Although our analysis will focus mainly on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students, we are also interested in exploring (a) how teachers define their role in regard to political discussion, (b) how important they perceive the school as compared to other agencies or agents of political socialization (the family, the mass media, peer groups), (c) whether their perception of the importance of the school or of their role definition differs from those of principals, parents, and the students they teach, (d) in what circumstances they

¹ For a detailed description of the index of the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students, see Chapter 3.

discuss politics with students, (3) what strategies they consider most appropriate when social and political topics arise in the classroom.

We will first conduct a descriptive analysis of these various elements related to teachers' political discussion with students: perception of the relative importance of the school as an agency of political socialization, role definition² in regard to political discussion with students, propensity to discuss politics, strategies of political discussion, etc. The objective of this descriptive analysis is to determine to what extent teachers' political discussions with students might be an important process of transmission of political orientations in the school, and to what extent teachers tend to play an active and explicit role in this process.

Beyond this descriptive analysis, we will develop the analysis with only one of these variables: the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students. We will also try to identify and measure the effects of variables likely to account for teachers' political discussion and to shape both the teachers' role of mediation and their explicit interventions in political socialization. This will represent the main task of the analysis.

2.2. The independent variables

What are the forces likely to shape the role of teachers in political socialization? Our review of existing empirical research in Chapter 1 on teachers as agents of political socialization has already

² Role definition refers to the conception an incumbent of a social position has of his own role, or to the norm he defines for himself.

pointed to some of the variables likely to influence the role of teachers in this process (social and occupational backgrounds, political orientations, characteristics of school and community, perceived sanctions, etc.). But the reader will recall that there has been no attempt whatsoever to propose a comprehensive model of analysis.

Dunkin and Biddle (1974) have proposed a model for the study of teaching, which could contribute to the development of our own model of analysis. They distinguish four types of variables in their study of teaching: presage, context, process and product variables (cf. Figure 1):

(a) product variables concern the contribution of teaching to the learning or growth that occurs in pupils as a result of their involvement in classroom activities with teachers and other pupils. These variables refer, on the one hand, to immediate pupil growth in terms of subject matter learning or attitude towards the subject matter, and, on the other hand, to the long term effects on the pupil's personality or professional and occupational skills.

(b) process variables focus on classroom activities, on what both teachers and pupils do in the classroom, and on their classroom behavior. Process variables are assumed to have an effect on product variables and to be a function of presage and context variables. In the same way, teacher classroom behavior and student classroom behavior are assumed to influence each other.

(c) context variables concern the characteristics of the school environment which affect the pupil's classroom behavior: the pupil's formative experiences or social background, the pupil's properties, attitudes and



Figure 1: The Dunkin and Biddle model of the study of teaching

abilities, the school and community context (climate of the school, characteristics of the community), and the classroom context (class size, equipment, etc.).

(d) presage variables concern the characteristics of a teacher that may affect the teaching process or his behavior: the teacher's formative experience or social background, his training and experience, and his properties (personality traits, teaching skills, intelligence and motivation).

How can this general framework for the study of teaching contribute to the development of our model of analysis? We will not try to directly apply the Dunkin and Biddle model in its entirety, for the following reasons. First, as the reader will recall, we have already chosen not to formulate our dependent variable in terms of "product variables". In other words, our main objective is not to assess the effect of teacher behavior on student learning. Our dependent variable, the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students, refers to a teacher's classroom behavior, and appears then as a process variable which we want to account for.

Second, according to the two authors, teacher classroom behavior is likely to be influenced by pupil classroom behavior, by the presage variables and context variables which are assumed to exert their influence on teacher classroom behavior through pupil classroom behavior. We rather think that the effects of context variables are not necessarily mediated by pupil classroom behavior, but instead may have a direct effect on teacher behavior.

Third, we believe that the interrelations between teachers and students are not really conceptualized in the Dunkin and Biddle model. Moreover, the interaction between teachers and other agents involved in the educational process (parents, school administrators, colleagues, etc.) tends to be ignored. In summary, teacher behavior (like that of students) tends to be accounted for in static and deterministic terms. The interactional context of teacher-pupil relations and the dynamic aspect of the role of teachers have been overlooked.

Although we cannot apply the Dunkin and Biddle model in its entirety to the object in our study, their model has however helped us to identify four sets of variables likely to be associated or to have an effect on the role of teachers as agents of political socialization. The conceptual framework underlying the present study is based on the simple premise that the role of teachers in political socialization, and more particularly their propensity to discuss politics with students, depends on four interrelated set of factors: the teacher's social and occupational background, the community and organizational characteristics of the school where he teaches, the teacher's political and educational orientations, and what we have called situational elements in the teacher's network of interaction. The variables related to the teacher's network of interaction have been introduced in the perspective of role analysis, so as to take into account the interactional context of teaching and some of the dynamic aspects of the role of teachers in this context.

2.3. Teachers' political and educational orientations

The role teachers play in socialization to politics has to do with politics and schools. A basic premise of our study is that teacher

behavior in regard to political discussion is part of a configuration of political and educational orientations, and is conditioned by their political attitudes and values, on what they think about schools, and on how they define themselves as professionals in the school system.

Several factors related to teachers' political and educational orientations could have been included in this study. Our analysis, however, is restricted to those variables serving to characterize teachers' basic political and educational orientations: teachers' political participation, their political values defined in terms of liberalism and conservatism, their conception of the goals of the school, and their orientation as professionals. It should be pointed out that the selection of these variables was conditioned and restricted by the availability of the data. The reader will recall that a secondary analysis of data gathered in the framework of a larger research project often imposes limits on the selection of variables. For example, it was not possible to assess the effect of teaching style on the behavior of teachers in regard to political discussion, even had we wished to do so. We believe nonetheless that the political and educational orientations which the data have allowed us to measure give a fairly good representation of teachers' political and educational orientations. We now turn to the presentation of our hypotheses concerning this set of variables.

Teacher political participation is the first variable of which we want to measure the association with teachers' political discussion. Our hypothesis is that teachers characterized by a high degree of political participation are more likely to discuss politics with students than those who are not. Common sense, as well as a review of research on teachers

as agents of political socialization, indicate that we could not avoid measuring the association between these two variables.

We also think that teachers may be influenced by their political orientations. Liberal teachers are more likely to discuss politics than conservative teachers. This hypothesis is based on the assumptions that teachers who agree to discuss politics with students tend to depart from a traditional norm in regard to political involvement of teachers, and that liberal teachers are more ready to identify with a new emerging school political culture because they tend to be more open to change.

Propensity of teachers to discuss politics may also vary with their conception of the goals of the school. Two types of school goals have been defined from a typology partly borrowed and adapted from Finlayson (1973, p. 189):

- "student-expressive" goals, which are reflected in attempts to develop or change the student's identity. This goal emphasizes liberal education and the development of the student's personality.
- "student-instrumental" goals, which are reflected in attempts to equip the pupil in a specific way within society. These goals emphasize the student's vocational training, and the need to meet the requirements of the job market.

Our hypotheses are that (a) teachers who tend to stress a student-instrumental goal for the school are less likely to discuss politics with the students. It is assumed that teachers who value the more immediately practical student-instrumental goals of the school are less inclined to invest in the development in the student of a certain political consciousness than those who do not value the student-instrumental goal; (b) teachers

who tend to stress a student-expressive goal for the school are more likely to discuss politics with the students. It is assumed that teachers who highly value the student-expressive goals are more inclined to invest in the student's development of political self through the school, and at school through political discussion, than those who do not value this conception.

Another educational orientation which we want to study in relation to the role of teachers as agents of political socialization concerns their orientation as professionals within the school system. The available data have allowed us to assess the effect of one dimension of the professional orientations of teachers, that is, the propensity of teachers to assert their professional authority by claiming greater participation in the decision-making process of the school. We think that this aspect of a professional orientation may condition the way teachers define their role and actually behave within the school organization.

Our hypothesis is that teachers who tend to claim greater participation in the decision-making process are more likely to discuss politics with the students than those who do not. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that teachers who claim greater participation in the decision-making process tend to identify with the professional mode of organization, to assert their authority as professionals, to feel more secure to conduct classroom affairs as they feel they should be conducted, and in the case of discussion of controversial political topics, to discuss politics with the students.

2.4. Variables related to the teachers' network of interaction

The second set of factors of which we want to measure the association with and the effect on the behavior of teachers as agents of political socialization, focuses on elements and forces arising in the teacher's immediate environment, or on the network of interaction within which they perform their role. We are more particularly referring to the following elements: (a) the expectations held by others (colleagues, the principal, students, parents) in the teacher's milieu. These expectations vary from one situation to another, but are seen as culturally patterned and attached to the status or position a person occupies, rather than to the person himself. (b) The sanctions (positive or negative) which the teachers perceive as being exerted by the members of the role-set to bring them to conform to these expectations. (c) The agreement, disagreement or conflict upon their role definition and role behavior between themselves and the members of the role-set. (d) The opportunities for political discussion that teachers get in their teaching and in school activities.

Some of these elements could have appeared under the headings of the context variables (for example the "expectations" variable), or of presage variables (perceived sanctions and role conflict). But we have thought it more relevant to group these variables under this heading in order to underline the interactional dimension of teaching and to conduct an analysis which would take into account some elements of a role analysis.

Our general hypothesis is based upon this general assumption of role analysis: people attach importance to the opinions of those with whom they interact, desire to achieve a favorable self-image by winning approval from others, and seek to maximize favorable evaluation from others.

The more specific hypothesis related to the four elements of the teacher's network of interaction that we have identified (expectations, sanctions, role conflict, opportunities), borrow from the two theoretical traditions of role analysis. These two traditions correspond to what Wilson (1970) has called the "normative paradigm" and the "interpretive paradigm". These two paradigms illustrate two approaches to the study of interaction.

In the "normative paradigm", interaction between actors is defined, according to Wilson, as "governed by the role expectations of their respective status... and questions concerning interaction are treated primarily in terms of the relation between the actors' dispositions, and role expectations, role conflict, conformity and deviance, sanctioning and reinforcement processes" (p. 698). In this tradition, behavior is conditioned by a set of culturally patterned expectations attached to the role, by the positive or negative sanctions which are applied either to conform or not to conform to the expectations, and by the conflicting expectations an actor may perceive concerning his role. One can easily recognize that the first three situational elements we have referred to in our hypotheses (role expectations, sanctions, role conflict) are derived from this tradition.

In the "interpretative paradigm", interaction is seen as a process in which the actor has to interpret the behavior of others, and to build upon his interpretation of other's expectations in order to define and enact his own behavior. The emphasis is put on what Charters (1967) has called "the process by which role definitions are formed and modified at a given point in interaction through time" (p. 788). Behavior appears

to be not so much the enactment of culturally patterned expectations taken for granted, as it is an actor's response to his perception of the behavior of others, the meaning of which he tries to discover and interpret. In this perspective, a role is constructed through a process by which role definitions are formed, modified, or even negotiated, through interaction through time.

Various authors have introduced concepts to point out the dynamic and interpretative character of interaction, and to react against the tendency of the first formulations of role theory to conceive role behavior as being too "mechanistically" conditioned by culturally patterned expectations, normative orientations and sanctions. Turner (1956) has proposed the concept of "role taking" to describe "the process of looking at or anticipating another's behavior by viewing it in the context of a role imputed to that other" (p. 151). Blumer (1969) has stated the underlying assumptions of the interpretative paradigm. Goffman (1959) and Strauss (1978) have analyzed the negotiation aspect of interaction. Hargnaves (1966, 1975) and Martin (1976) have tried to apply the model to the study of social relations in schools.

We share many of the critiques of the normative paradigm, which have underlined both the over-importance granted to culturally patterned expectations in the explanation of behavior, and the "mechanistic" character of the explanations focusing on normative orientations. It has not been possible, however, to develop from our data base a perspective of analysis which could take into account all the elements of this theoretical tradition. As Charters (1967) points out, this approach requires a mode of empirical research based on detailed observations to be made of a

restricted range of events through time. The data on which our analysis is based are of the survey research type and, moreover, have not been gathered especially for our research.

It has been possible, though, to formulate a hypothesis which takes into account some elements of these critiques. This is the case in particular of the hypothesis concerning what we have called the "opportunities for political discussions".

More particularly we have drawn from Carlin's model of analysis of deviant behavior to delimit this type of hypothesis. In his model, Carlin (1966) criticizes the normative paradigm explaining deviant behavior by focusing on a sub-culture predisposing to norm violation. According to him, in the normative paradigm, attention shifts from present behavior to a past socialization process. This model also relies excessively on the explanatory power of the norms of the deviant sub-culture. Rather, he comes to identify, among other variables, a set of situational elements which he calls "situational inducements" to adopt a deviant behavior, and which he defines in terms of constraints and opportunities encouraging or limiting deviant behavior. We have come to identify, in our analysis, two situational elements which it is possible to define in terms of both constraints and opportunities for political discussion. These situational elements appear to be independent from culturally patterned expectations and sanctions, namely the level of secondary school and the subject matter taught.

We now turn to the formulation of more specific hypotheses concerning the effects on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics of

the situational elements as they relate to the teachers' network of interaction.

The term role expectations, according to Allport (1961), refers to what the culture or a subculture prescribes for the enactment of a role. "They constitute the rules of the game and are what most people in a society come to expect of any member that occupies a certain position in any current social system" (p. 184). We have formulated the hypothesis that behavior of teachers as agents of political socialization is influenced by the actual expectations of the parents, the students, the principal, and their colleagues at the school where they teach:

- teachers in schools where a majority of colleagues, students and parents, respectively, expect them to discuss politics are more likely to have a high propensity to discuss politics with the students.
- teachers in school where the principal expects them to discuss politics are more likely to have a high propensity to do so than teachers in schools where the principal does not.

The assumption underlying these two hypotheses is that teachers may, in the enactment of their role as agents of political socialization, be submitted to external and internal social pressures and demands coming from different groups or incumbents of other social positions.

However one should not overestimate the impact of the expectations of parents, the students, other teachers and the principal on the behavior of teachers. Merton (1957, pp. 113-117) has shown that the impact of role expectations on behavior may be conditioned by the relative

importance³ an incumbent of a position assigns to an incumbent of a counter-position in a role-set, by differences in degrees of power and authority among those in the role-set, by the fact that the role-activities of an incumbent of a position may be isolated from observability on the part of incumbents of counterpositions, and by the observability of conflicting demands by members of a role set. This is why we have formulated a third hypothesis: the effects of parent and student expectations on the behavior of teachers are more likely to be lesser than those of colleagues and the principal. It is assumed that parents are perceived by teachers as being more of a peripheral concern in relation to the other members of the role-set, and that both parents and students have a lower degree of power and authority than do the principal and fellow teachers. Moreover, behavior of teachers is less observable by parents than by the principal or colleagues.

Parents, teachers, students, and the principal, as well as other groups or incumbents of other positions, do not necessarily have similar expectations with regard to the teacher's role in political socialization. Teachers may be confronted with incompatible expectations, or may be in a situation of role conflict.

Role conflict refers to "a situation in which an incumbent of a focal position perceives that he is confronted with incompatible expectations" (Gross et al., 1958, pp. 248-249). There may be two types of role conflict. There is intra-role conflict "if one perceives that others hold different expectations for him as the incumbent of a single position".

3 By relative importance, Merton means that "a particular role-relationship may be a peripheral concern for some; for others it may be central", (p. 113).

There is inter-role conflict, "if one perceives that others hold different expectations for him as the incumbent of two or more positions". (Gross et al., 1958, p. 249).

Since our study focuses on only one role, that of teachers and more particularly on a role segment of their role, we are interested only in the impact of intra-role conflict on the behavior of teachers in political socialization. Moreover we are interested in the perceived role conflict because, as Gross et al. (1958, p. 245) point out, "a theoretical model for the problem of how an actor will behave when exposed to incompatible expectations must be based on the assumption that the actor perceives the expectations as incompatible. Incumbents of counterpositions may actually hold contradictory expectations for an incumbent of a focal position, but if he is unaware of them, the situation... is residual".

Our hypothesis is that teachers experiencing a high degree of role conflict are more likely to have a high propensity to discuss politics with students. It is based on the assumption that in such a situation of lack of consensus, teachers will more likely agree to transgress the traditional norm against political discussion, and to respond to student demands for political discussion.

Before presenting the hypothesis concerning the effect of perceived sanctions on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, we will define what a social sanction is. Expectations attached to a role exert a certain constraint upon the incumbent of a position. A social sanction specifically refers to the approval or disapproval, to the rewards (symbolic or material) or penalties that an incumbent of a social position receives, or to the gratification or deprivation of which

he is the object, in the enactment of a role. These sanctions may thus be positive or negative, symbolic or material. They represent one of the ways a group or a collectivity can influence the incumbent of a position to behave in conformity with the culturally patterned expectations attached to his role. We are concerned here with the perception teachers have of potential social sanctions expressed in terms of approval or disapproval by different groups or agents of teachers' political discussion with students. Our hypothesis is that teachers who do perceive a high degree of negative sanctions are more likely to discuss politics less often with students than those teachers who do not.

As far as opportunities for political discussion are concerned, it should be pointed out that teachers at a school in which the parents, the teachers, the students and the principal have positive expectations with regard to political discussion with the students, could perceive that incumbents of other positions would exert positive sanctions, but could still have a low propensity to discuss political questions with the students because they may be placed in a situation where they have fewer or no opportunities to do so.

We have already underlined the theoretical significance of opportunities for political discussions among the variables related to the teachers' network of interactions. These point to a dynamic conception of interaction and to the relative importance of normative orientations and culturally patterned expectations in the explanation of behavior, and, in the case of our research, in the explanation of the role of teachers as agents of political socialization. We have more particularly formulated

the following hypotheses in relation to the two indicators of opportunities we have already identified:

- (a) Teachers spending most of their time teaching secondary 3, 4 and 5 level students are more likely to have a high propensity to discuss political affairs with students than those spending most of their time teaching secondary 1 and 2 level students.

The former teach a more mature student population. It is a well documented fact that political socialization is a developmental process (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, Ch. IV). The degree of political information and political interest increases with age, and the pre-adolescence and adolescence period, during which the student attends secondary school, is particularly crucial.

Piaget and Weil (1951) have shown that political maturation is related to the development of a more general capacity to think, conceptualize, and grasp abstract meaning. Adelson and O'Neil (1960) have shown that the development of the sense of community coincides with the development of the capacity for social and political thinking from age 11 to 18.

Secondary 4 and 5 students are thus in a better position to discuss political affairs and perhaps to initiate political discussion with the teachers. The amount of time spent teaching at the different levels of secondary school may then be conceptualized as an opportunity for teachers to discuss political affairs with the students.

(b) Teachers teaching certain subjects are more likely to discuss politics than those teaching others. Some subjects are more conducive to political discussions, and offer teachers more opportunities to discuss politics than others do. The different subjects have been grouped into two categories: (a) social studies, and languages; (b) other subjects. And we have formulated the following hypothesis: social studies and language teachers are more likely to have a high propensity to discuss politics with students than teachers of other subject matters because the content of their subjects lends itself more readily to political discussion with students than that of the other subjects.

That social studies are subjects which lend themselves more readily to political discussion than other subjects is rather evident. This is less true however of languages as a subject. But, as Anderson (1968, p. 94) points out, language, especially the mother tongue, "is a basic subject matter that is related to accomplishment in all other subjects. It is characterized by a higher level of abstraction and is based to a large extent on verbal ability... Many of the stated goals of the English (mother tongue) program, e.g. citizenship training, and development of ability to work in groups are vague and esoteric...". In this pedagogical context, we are inclined to think that language teachers are more likely to have the opportunity to explore, through the teaching of their subjects, themes and questions which might have political significance and be conducive to political discussion.

2.5. The social and occupational backgrounds of teachers

The social and occupational backgrounds of teachers are among

the many factors which Dunkin and Biddle have included in their model for the study of teaching. These factors point to the effect on teaching of the socialization of teachers before they decide to select teaching as an occupation, and to the effect of professional socialization to teaching during and after their training. Another basic premise of this study is that the social and occupational backgrounds of teachers may have an effect on the role of teachers as agents of political socialization.

In the case of the social backgrounds of teachers, it is assumed that (a) persons of different social background enter the teaching profession through a process of selective recruitment, and (b) these persons may have been subjected, before entering teaching, to different socializing influences according to their milieu of origin. And it is hypothesized that the social backgrounds of teachers, measured by the socio-economic status of teachers' fathers, is likely to have only a moderate effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students, because the effects of their family socialization may have been counterbalanced by those of their socialization to the profession after entering teaching.

We have also formulated the hypothesis that the social backgrounds of teachers are likely to have an effect on their political participation and liberalism associated with their propensity to discuss politics. With respect to teacher political participation, we have hypothesized that teachers coming from families of high socio-economic status are more likely to participate in politics than teachers from families of low socio-economic status, on the basis of Milbrath's (1965) conclusion that persons of high socio-economic status are more likely to participate

in politics than persons of low socio-economic status. As far as teacher liberalism is concerned, we have also hypothesized that teachers born of low socio-economic status are less likely to be liberal, on the basis of Lipset's (1963) conclusion that when liberalism is defined in non-economic terms - for example in terms of support for civil liberties, internationalism, etc. - the members of the upper social strata are more likely to be liberal than those of lower social strata.

The training and teaching experience of teachers are two indicators of their occupational backgrounds which have been interpreted in terms of professional socialization (Charters, 1963, Westwood, 1967, Lortie, 1975). In this perspective, teacher training is seen as a process through which teachers internalize the image, norms, and orientations of the teaching profession. Their participation in the system of social relationships in their training institutions may contribute to shaping their conception of the teacher's role, pedagogical orientations and values. This process of socialization to the teaching profession does not end with formal preparatory training for the profession. It is in this perspective that teaching experience is also conceptualized in terms of professional socialization.

We have formulated the following two hypotheses: (a) the longer the training time, the more likely it is that teachers will be inclined to discuss politics with the students. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that teachers with a longer training are more likely to be liberal and to adhere to new norms emerging within the teaching profession in regard to discussion of political affairs with the students. They also are more likely to be self-confident, sure of their status, and

ready to assert themselves concerning discussion of political affairs with the students, even if they perceive that their colleagues or the community might disapprove of political discussion with the students.

(b) the longer the length of time teaching, the less likely it is that teachers will be in favor of political discussion or actually discuss politics with the students. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that the teaching profession exerts a conservative influence on teachers, an influence which would inhibit teachers from adopting new professional norms and behavior in regard to political discussion with the students.

2.6. The community and the organizational characteristics of schools

The community and the organizational characteristics of the school are another set of factors Dunkin and Biddle have identified as having an effect on teaching. In their model, the effects of these variables are mediated by student classroom behavior. The reader will recall that we do not reject the idea that their effects might be mediated by student classroom behavior. But we think that they might also have a direct effect on teacher classroom behavior. The significance of these variables lies in the assumption that the role of teachers as agents of political socialization is influenced not only by the occupational norms teachers internalize during socialization to the profession, or by the values they could learn to identify with during childhood in their social milieu of origin, or by more immediate elements in their network of interaction, but also by extra-occupational forces, and more particularly by the characteristics of the community and of the school organization in which teachers have to perform their role.

This is why we have decided to assess the effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics of two community characteristics (the size of the community where the school is located and the socio-economic status of the school) and of one organizational element (status of public or private school).

The size of the community will be considered to be an indicator of a more general dimension of the social structure of the community. It refers to the complexity of its social structure, and to its degree of urbanization and industrialization.

Our hypothesis is that teachers in large metropolitan areas are more likely to discuss politics with the students than those in medium-sized towns, small towns, or villages. This hypothesis is based on the assumptions that (a) teachers in large heterogeneous communities live in a relatively more tolerant environment than teachers in more homogeneous small communities where social control is tighter; (b) in the more tolerant context of metropolitan areas, it would be easier for teachers to adopt a behavior, in regard to political discussion with the students, which would depart from the traditional norm in this regard.

We have also formulated the hypothesis that teachers are more likely to discuss politics with students in schools of high socio-economic status than in schools of low socio-economic status. This hypothesis is based on the conclusion of Litt's (1970) study, which we referred to in Chapter 1. The author found that the effects of civic education vary according to the social class of the students, and that civic education is more likely to emphasize political participation and an "active" view of politics in an upper-middle class community than in a working class

community. We have made the hypothesis that students in schools of high SES are more likely to encourage their teachers to discuss politics with them, and that these teachers are more likely to agree to do so, than is the case with students and teachers in schools of low SES.

As far as public or private school status is concerned, we have not formulated a specific hypothesis. But because occupational background of teachers, and more particularly, the duration of their training, as well as the climate of private schools may differ from those of public schools, and because public schools have been at the center of the controversy surrounding teachers' political discussion, we feel that it is relevant to assess the effect of this characteristic of the school on the behavior of teachers.

2.7. Interrelations between the independent variables

The hypotheses that we have formulated thus far refer only to the relationships between the propensity of teachers to discuss politics (the dependent variable) and four sets of independent variables (teachers' political and educational orientations, variables related to their network of interaction, their social and occupational backgrounds, and the community and organizational characteristics of the school where they teach). This does not mean that the independent variables might not be interrelated.

We will not try to formulate hypotheses on all the interrelations between the independent variables. In many cases this might not even be relevant. What we intend to do is first identify, as we develop the analysis and when justified, the interrelations between variables of the same set of variables (for example the relationship between liberalism,

political participation and conception of the goals of the school, and the relationship between the expectations of the members of the role-set and the perceived negative sanctions and role conflict in regard to political discussion). Second, we can already indicate how we expect the four sets of independent variables will come to be interrelated.

We are inclined to think that teachers' political and educational orientations are likely to be related to their social and occupational backgrounds. We already know for example from previous research that background variables (sex, age, occupation, schooling, etc.) may have an effect on political participation and liberalism (Milbrath, 1965). We are also formulating the hypothesis that the community and the organizational characteristics of the school where teachers work are more likely to have an effect on the variables related to the teachers' network of interaction, since we assume that teachers' social and occupational backgrounds can only indirectly affect this network.

On the other hand, the organizational setting and the kind of community where teachers perform their roles condition this network directly and on a day to day basis. For example, the network of interaction between members of a role-set may vary as the complexity of the social structure in which this network is located increases. Another example is that expectations of members of the role-set and the sanctions teachers perceive may vary depending on whether a milieu is predominantly middle-class or lower-class. In Figure 2, the reader will find an illustration of the broad interrelations we expect to find between the independent variables, as the analysis is developed.

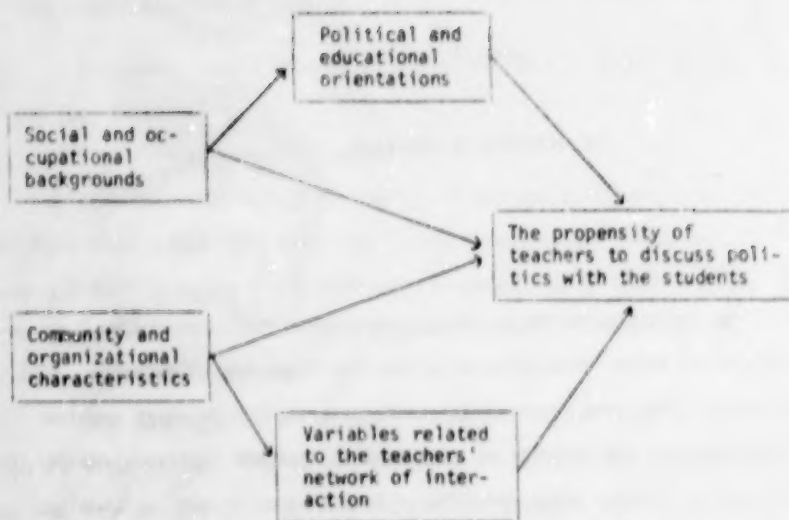


Figure 2: Outline of the model of analysis

Before presenting the results of the analysis (Chapters 4 to 8), we will describe the methodology used in our research.

CHAPTER 3

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

We indicated in the previous chapter that the opportunity of having access to survey data gathered within the framework of a larger research project has been instrumental in formulating our research problem. Instead of focusing our research on more implicit teacher interventions in political socialization, which should have been studied through systematic observation of teacher classroom behavior or even participant observation, we have chosen, partly because of this opportunity, to formulate the problem in terms of both more explicit teacher interventions (political discussion with students), as reported by the teachers themselves in the survey research, and of the forces that contribute to shape the teacher's role in regard to political discussion. Therefore, it does not appear necessary to develop this basic aspect of our research methodology any further, since we have already shown that it had influenced the very way our research problem has been formulated and the secondary analysis we want to conduct.

This chapter reports the sampling techniques that were adopted, the methods used to collect data and to build the scales to measure variables under consideration, and the method of analysis.

3.1. The sample and data collection

The reader should keep in mind that the Quebec school system includes four levels:

- (a) Primary school (6 years);
- (b) Secondary school (5 years). There are different types of secondary school, classified according to the levels taught in the school: secondary school offering all five levels, secondary school offering only the first two levels (I and II), and secondary school offering only the last three levels (III, IV, V).
- (c) CEGEP, which is an educational institution peculiar to the Quebec school system. It offers two types of post-secondary education: a two year pre-university compulsory program for students wishing to continue on to higher education, and a three year program for vocationally oriented students wishing to secure employment upon completion of their CEGEP studies.
- (d) University.

The population chosen for study was taken from the teaching staffs of public and private secondary schools in the Province. The teachers population and sample in our study are correlative to the students population and sample in the larger longitudinal research project on student educational and occupational aspirations. However, teachers were sampled only in schools where students in secondary I (first year of secondary school) had been sampled for the purpose of the larger research project. In this project, data have been collected on teachers as well as on parents and school principals, in order to include in the analysis of student aspirations contextual variables related to characteristics and orientations of

these educational agents (parents, teachers, principals) and, ultimately, to assess their effects on student aspirations.

In this section we will not try to present a detailed description of all these samples (students, parents, teachers, and principals). The reader will find in Carlos (1974) and in Bélanger, Rocher et al. (1974) a complete description of the very complex sampling strategy conceived by the Centre de sondage de l'Université de Montréal, for the whole of the longitudinal research project. Our objective in this section is only to present a brief outline of the sampling procedures, in order to delimit the group of teachers sampled in this research project.

Because the teachers population and sample have been defined in relation to those of the students, we should begin with the latter. For the purpose of the longitudinal study on student aspirations, four cohorts were identified and 20,381 students were interviewed in the four cohorts: 5,830 in secondary I (cohort 1), 1,236 in secondary III (cohort 2), 10,203 in secondary V (cohort 3) and 3,112 in CEGEP II (cohort 4). According to Bélanger, Rocher et al. (1974),

"The number of students in each cohort varies in such a way as to fulfill the objectives of the project. Thus, only 1,236 students were selected in secondary III because we did not need to follow the students of this cohort after the first survey. They were selected only for comparative purposes with a similar study conducted in Ontario by John Porter and Bernard B. Blishen. Likewise Cohort 3 was much larger than all others because the 'losses' were expected to be higher than elsewhere after 6 years". (p. 8)

Once the number of students for each cohort had been delimited in relation to the objectives of the longitudinal study and to the anticipated student "losses" over the duration of the longitudinal study, students were sampled according to the following criteria. A different sample has

been taken for each of the four cohorts of students. This means that the students sample is stratified as to school or college levels (Secondary I, III, V and CEGEP II). The four cohorts were also stratified as to language used in the schools or colleges.

In the case of the cohort of Secondary I students for example, the 1135 Quebec secondary schools where courses of this level are offered were stratified as to size of the student population in Secondary I. The first step involved randomly selecting schools offering Secondary I courses in such a way as to give the students of large schools the same opportunity of being selected as those of small schools. In the second step, individual students were randomly selected within these schools, which had also been randomly selected. The same procedure was followed for the selection of Secondary III and V students from among schools offering courses at these two levels. The secondary school students of the first three cohorts were thus selected in 255 schools. The only exception to this procedure is the secondary I students of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal. For various reasons to which Carlos (1974) refers in his description of the sampling, clusters of students were at first selected, and then all the students in these clusters were selected.

In the case of the students in their second year of CEGEP (cohort 4), the sample was also stratified as to language used in the colleges. In the first step, 22 colleges were selected; in the second step, individual students were selected. The number of students selected in each college is proportional to the size of the college. Because of different problems to which Carlos (1974) also refers in the description

of the sample of this cohort, it has not been possible to select students according to a standard procedure. In some CEGEPS, students were randomly selected on an individual basis. In some others (larger colleges), clusters of students were first selected. In this case, either all the students in a cluster were sampled, or students were randomly selected on an individual basis.

Data were collected in the following way: the interviewers distributed the questionnaire to the students, who had to fill it in themselves and turn it back in to the interviewer. Some of the student questionnaires (2,621 out of the 20,150 completed questionnaires) were administered by mail. This was made necessary for schools:

- whose principal refused to cooperate with the researchers or to allow interviewers to contact the students at school;
- where for various reasons it was not possible to contact the students before the end of the school year;
- where the response rate with the standard procedure was below 90%.

The response rate for the total sample of students (Sec I, Sec III, Sec V and CEGEP II) was 86% (93% for French-speaking students and 80% for English-speaking students). It was 95% for Sec I students, 86% for Sec III, 87% for Sec V students, and 92% for students in CEGEP II.

This general although sketchy outline of the students sample is being presented for the following reasons:

- (a) the teachers sample, as we have already pointed out, was designed in relation to that of the students;

- (b) some data on secondary school students' perceptions of schools and of teachers as agents of political socialization were analyzed in Chapter 4, in relation to data on teachers' perceptions. The reader will thus have an idea of the students sample when we analyze the few data that we will present on secondary school students. We now turn to the description of the teachers sample.

Teachers were sampled only in schools where students had been previously sampled for the study on student aspirations. It is in this sense that our teachers sample is correlative to the students sample in the larger research project. Moreover, teachers were sampled only in schools where secondary I students had been sampled for the larger research project. However, the teachers sample is not limited to teachers teaching only secondary I students, and includes teachers of all secondary school levels of these schools. The teachers sample is stratified as to language of the school. The teachers were randomly selected in the 133 schools where secondary I students had been sampled (94 French-language schools and 39 English-language schools).

The teachers questionnaire was distributed by the interviewer to the teachers who, as in the case of the students, had to fill it in themselves and to turn it back in to the interviewer. A small number of teachers questionnaires were distributed by mail when for various reasons it proved impossible to contact the teachers at school.

The response rate for the entire teachers sample is 73%: 1685 teachers (1309 French-speaking and 376 English-speaking) out of the 2296 teachers selected completed the questionnaire. As in the case of

the students, the response rate is higher among French-speaking (76%) than among English-speaking teachers (67%).

We will now briefly describe the parents sample and the type of data we have collected on the school principals, so that the reader will have an idea of the data collected on these groups when in Chapter 4 we present comparative data (as in the case of the students) on parents' and principals' perceptions of the school and of teachers as agents of political socialization.

The parents sample, as in the case of the teachers sample, is correlative to the students sample. This means that parents were selected only from among the parents of the students who had completed the students questionnaire. Unlike the teachers sample however, the parents sample is correlative to the secondary I and V students samples, and is not stratified as to school language. For the purpose of the main research project, the number of parents to be selected had been previously set at 750 parents for each of the two levels of secondary school (Sec I and V). On the basis of preliminary observations of the student response rate, it was assumed that only 80% of the parents could be contacted and that 75% of them would agree to fill in the questionnaire. And it was decided to oversample the parents: 1240 parents ($750 \times .8 \times .75$) were randomly selected for each of the two secondary school levels (I and V): parents of every third students in secondary I and parents of every sixth students in secondary V were selected.

Parents who were selected were interviewed at their homes; they did not have to fill in the questionnaire themselves. The response rate for parents was higher than expected: 1932 parents (as against 1500)

out of the 2400 selected completed the questionnaire, for a response rate of 82%. These were the parents of students in 144 schools. The response rate for French-speaking parents (86%) is higher than the one for English-speaking parents (76%).

The school principals who answered the principals questionnaire do not really constitute a sample. All the principals of the 255 secondary schools where students had been sampled were asked for an interview. The interviewer filled in the questionnaire. Of the 255 school principals, 13 refused to let the students participate in the research. Only 6 out of the 242 who agreed to cooperate in the research refused the interview. The response rate for the entire group is thus 94% (99% for French-speaking, and 85% for English-speaking principals).

We are now in a position to assess the representativity of our teachers sample and the other samples. The teachers sample is representative of teachers in the schools where secondary I students were selected for the purpose of the larger research project on student aspirations. Although not representative of all the secondary schools in the Province, it is representative of the secondary schools where secondary I courses are taught. As far as the students samples are concerned, it can be concluded that they are representative of secondary I, III and V students, and of students in their second year of CEGEP. The parents sample is not representative of all parents of students in secondary I and V. It is representative only of those parents of secondary I and V students who answered the students questionnaire. But we are inclined to believe that it is indicative of parents of secondary I and V students in the Province. We have already established that the data for principals are not

representative of principals in the Province. As in the case of the parents, we believe that these data may however be indicative of the principals of the Province.

The data were collected in the spring of 1972. The teachers questionnaire included 87 questions divided into five parts: (1) general information on the teachers' backgrounds, (2) teaching activities, (3) the teachers' ideas about present day society and the society of the future, (4) the teachers' opinions about the system of education and (5) teachers and political education. The reader will find in Appendix A the teachers questionnaire. Only some parts of this questionnaire have been used for this research, and are reproduced in the Appendix. The few questions taken from students, parents and principals questionnaires which were used in our analysis have also been reproduced in the Appendix.

3.2. The construction of indices

Six of the variables used in this research were measured by an index. The six indices are the following: the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students (the dependent variable), teacher political participation, teacher liberalism-conservatism, the perceived negative sanctions in regard to political discussion, the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school, and the socio-economic status of the school. Before discussing each of these indices one by one we wish to briefly describe how they were constructed.¹

¹ The other variables used in this study will be described in the chapters where the analysis of these variables is conducted.

A set of items for an index was first selected on the basis of their "face validity" to measure a variable. An item analysis was then conducted, the purpose of which was to determine the homogeneity of the index. Each item was correlated with the other items and with the total score of the index. In the case of the item-index correlation, the item for which the item-index correlation coefficient was computed was excluded from the index where this coefficient was computed.

The correlation coefficient for the item analysis is the Pearsonian r . This coefficient is appropriate for variables measured at the interval or ratio level and for ordinal-level variables with many categories. Most of the variables from which our scales have been constructed are of the latter type. In the case of the few dichotomous variables included in some of our scales, we have compared the results obtained with the Pearsonian r and those with the Phi coefficient or Cramer's V coefficient (suitable measures of association for 2×2 tables and tables which are not 2×2 , respectively). Since the results tend to be similar, we have developed the matrices of correlation with the Pearsonian r only.

Some items were eliminated from the indices when they did not correlate high enough with the other items of an index or with the total score of this index. For an item to be included in the index, the correlation coefficient between this item and the other items had to be positive, i.e. it had to reflect a correlation between items in the expected direction, have a degree of significance of 0.05, and be equal to or higher than 0.15. Only exceptionally has an item been included in an index when all the correlation coefficients between this item and the

other items in the index were not equal to or higher than 0.15. The reader will find the tables of the correlation matrix for six indices in Appendix B.

The alpha coefficient has also been computed for each of the indices. This coefficient is another indicator of the internal consistency between the items of the scale, or a measure of the homogeneity among the items of a scale. The coefficient varies between 0 (absence of homogeneity) and 1 (perfect homogeneity). The higher the coefficient, the higher the covariance between the items.

The six indices that were adopted were developed by categorizing them by the median into dichotomic categories. The reason for this is that we wanted to maintain high enough frequencies by categories in order to make possible the kind of multivariate tabular analysis that we wanted to conduct. We are conscious, however, that this way of grouping the scores of the indices might reduce the variance of teachers on these various indices.

Propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students. This index is based on questions 17 a, b, c, d. The responses "often", "occasionally", "rarely" and "never" were given weights of 1, 2, 3 and 4, respectively. Respondents were given a total score, ranging between 4 (high propensity) and 16 (low propensity), which is the sum of their scores on each of the four questions. Respondents who did not answer the four questions were coded as "no answer". Correlations among the responses to the four questions are shown in Table A-1 (cf. Appendix B). The alpha coefficient is 0.84, which is rather high, and indicates a high level of homogeneity among the items.

The index is based on the teachers' own reports of their political discussions with the students in the classroom and outside the classroom. It is not an "objective" measure of what they are really doing. We have no way of determining either whether the teachers' behavior actually corresponds to their reports about political discussion with students or what teachers mean by "political affairs". We realize that these elements put limits on our measure of the propensity of teachers to discuss politics. These limits are inherent in secondary analysis. Although it would have been possible to include in the questionnaire when it was drawn up a question on what teachers mean when they use the expression political affairs, as for the possibility of going into the schools where teachers were sampled to observe the behavior of more than 1600 teachers, this was ruled out altogether. We thus have to assume that their behavior corresponds to their reports, and that they adhere to a common definition of the expression "political affairs". This limit on our measure of the dependent variable will have to be taken into account, specially in Chapter 4 when we discuss teachers' "levels" of political discussion. This limit will however appear less restrictive in the other chapters, where our objective will be not so much to determine the exact level of teacher political discussion than to assess the effect of the various independent variables on teacher political discussion.

The description of the total scores for teachers in the index is as follows:

<u>Total score</u>	<u>Frequencies</u>	<u>%</u>
4	5	0.3
5	5	0.3
6	15	1.0
7	21	1.4
8	103	6.9
9	87	5.8
10	136	9.1
11	104	7.0
12	177	11.9
13	110	7.4
14	184	12.4
15	149	10.0
16	393	26.4
TOTAL	1489	

The index of the propensity of teachers to discuss politics that was adopted was developed by categorizing teachers' propensities as "high" when their score ranged between 4 to 13 and as "low" when it was between 14 and 16. This means that the category "low propensity" includes teachers who almost always never or rarely discuss politics, whatever the four discussion situations corresponding to the four items, while the category "high propensity" includes teachers who discuss politics often and occasionally in some situations, and rarely and never in others.

Teacher political participation. This index is based on questions 12A, 12B, 13A, 13B and 14C. The responses "yes" and "no" have been given a weight of 1 and 2 respectively in the case of question 12A, 12B, 13A, 13B. The responses "very often", "often", "seldom" and "never" have been given a weight of 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively in the case of question 14C. Respondents who answered 7 or fewer of the 9 questions were coded

as "no answer". A score was obtained by adding the responses together, dividing by the number of questions answered and multiplying this score by 9. The total score ranges between 9 (high) and 20 (low). The correlation matrix for the index appears in Table A-2 (cf. Appendix B). The alpha coefficient is 0.68.

The index is based on a set of questions designed to measure the teacher's degree of political participation from the following indicators: voluntary work for a political party in the last federal, provincial and municipal elections campaigns, attendance at political meetings or assemblies during the last federal, provincial and municipal election campaigns, membership in a provincial and/or federal political party, and discussion of political affairs with friends who are not fellow teachers.

These indicators are among those most often used in measuring political participation (Robinson et al. 1968). Most of these indicators focus on the involvement of teachers in the formal electoral process. We are conscious of their limits. They tend to measure the traditional type of political participation and do not reflect new forms of political participation or new ways of conceptualizing political participation. They do not cover new types of political action which often develop outside the realm of political parties. We could mention for example the type of political action characteristic of militant groups concerned with protection of the environment, preservation of residential areas in urban districts, urban renewal, etc. Despite their limits, these indicators are still pertinent in measuring some aspects of political participation. We are inclined to think that those involved in new forms of political

participation or in new activities used as indicators of political participation still rely on the more traditional ways of expressing themselves politically.

The distribution of the total score on the nine items is shown below.

<u>Total score</u>	<u>Frequencies</u>	<u>$\frac{f}{N}$</u>
9	3	0.2
10	9	0.7
11	11	0.8
12	20	2.2
13	35	2.3
14	65	5.2
15	96	6.3
16	166	10.8
17	206	13.4
18	353	23.0
19	495	32.3
20	74	4.4
TOTAL	1533	

The index of political participation that was adopted was developed by categorizing a teacher's political participation as high when his score ranged from 9 to 17 and as low when it was between 18 and 20.

Teacher liberalism-conservatism. This index is based on questions 10 a, b, c and d. The responses "yes" and "no" were given a weight of 2 and 1 respectively in the case of question 10 a, and of 1 and 2 respectively in the case of questions 10 b, c and d. Respondents who did not answer the four questions were coded as "no answer". A score has

been obtained by adding the responses together. The total score ranges between 4 (conservatism) and 8 (liberalism). The correlation matrix appears in Table A-3 (cf. Appendix B). The alpha coefficient is 0.47.

The index is based on a set of questions designed to measure a certain propensity to uphold or not to uphold the status quo. It does not include questions designed to measure other dimensions of liberalism (cf. Robinson et al., 1968) concerning the extension of governmental activities, morality and a certain kind of patriotism.

The distribution of the total score for the four items is shown below.

<u>Total score</u>	<u>Frequencies</u>	<u>Σ</u>
4	24	1.6
5	103	6.9
6	235	15.7
7	399	26.7
8	735	49.1
TOTAL	1496	

The index of liberalism that was adopted was developed by categorizing a teacher's liberalism as high when his score was 8, and low when his score ranged from 4 to 7.

Propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school. This index is based on questions 16A to 16F. The responses "too little", "just the right amount", and "too much" were given weights of 3, 2 and 1 respectively. Respondents who answered four questions or fewer were coded as "no answer". A score was obtained by adding the responses together, dividing this score by the number of

questions answered, and multiplying it by 6. The total score ranges between 6 (low) and 18 (high). The correlation matrix appears in Table A-4 (cf. Appendix B). The alpha coefficient is 0.76.

The index is based on a set of questions designed to measure whether teachers feel the teaching staff has too much, too little or just the right amount of power in regard to different aspects of the administration of the school. The scale is to be used as an indicator of the teachers' attempts to assert their authority as professionals (cf. Chapter 5).

The distribution of the total score is as follows:

<u>Total score</u>	<u>Frequencies</u>	<u>%</u>
6	2	0.1
7	1	0.1
8	4	0.3
9	2	0.1
10	1	0.1
11	13	0.9
12	267	18.0
13	227	15.3
14	271	18.3
15	192	13.0
16	197	13.3
17	141	9.5
18	164	11.1
TOTAL	1482	

The index that was adopted was developed by categorizing a low propensity to claim greater power when the teachers' scores ranged from 6 to 14, and a high propensity when their scores ranged from 15 to 18.

Socio-economic status of the school. This index is based on questions 22 a, b, c and d of the principals questionnaire, which have been reproduced at the very end of the teachers questionnaire (Appendix A). The responses "none or very few", "about one tenth", "about a quarter", "about half", and "more than half", were given weights of 0.1, 1.0, 2.5, 5.0 and 7.5 respectively in the case of question B and D, and weights of 7.5, 5.0, 2.5, 1.0 and 0.1, respectively in the case of questions A and C. Respondents were given a total score, ranging from between 0.4 (low) and 30 (high), which is the sum of the school scores determined by the principals' responses to each of the four questions. Teachers in schools where the principals did not answer the four questions were coded as "no answer". The correlation matrix for this index appears in Table A-5 (cf. Appendix B). The alpha coefficient is 0.77.

The socio-economic status of the school is determined by the social composition of the student body. It has been measured from two indicators: the levels of education and the levels of income of the parents of students attending the schools. The measure is based on an estimate made by the principals of the schools where teachers were sampled. Principals were asked to estimate the proportion of students in the school coming from families

- where neither parents have completed more than nine years of schooling;
- where at least one of the parents has completed more than twelve years of schooling;
- whose total income (parents and children) is under \$4,000.00 a year;
- whose total income (parents and children) is over \$8,000.00 a year.

It would have been preferable to measure the SES of the school from objective data, had objective data been available. In deciding nevertheless to proceed with this measure of the SES of the school, we have assumed that the principal's estimate was a good approximation of the objective SES of the school. Herriott and St-John (1966) who used a similar procedure have checked the validity of this measure by comparing the school SES score they had obtained from this kind of measure with information obtained from the U.S. Census about the communities where the schools were located. They found that the principals' estimates correlated highly with the U.S. Census data on the schools' communities.

The distribution of the total score is as follows:

<u>Total score</u>	<u>Frequencies</u>	<u>%</u>
0.4	16	1.1
1	10	0.7
2	102	6.9
3	103	7.0
4	37	2.5
5	138	9.4
6	24	1.6
7	149	10.1
8	117	7.9
9	141	9.5
10	29	2.0
11	65	4.4
12	114	7.7
13	65	4.4
15	35	2.4
16	30	2.0
17	112	7.6
18	24	1.6

<u>Total score</u>	<u>Frequencies</u>	<u>%</u>
20	17	1.2
22	43	2.9
25	55	3.7
27	9	0.6
30	39	2.6
TOTAL	1474	

The index that was adopted was developed by categorizing a school as one of low socio-economic status when the teachers' scores ranged from 0.4 to 8, and as one of high socio-economic status when their scores ranged from 9 to 30.

Teacher perception of negative sanctions in regard to political discussion. This index is based on questions 20 a to e, i and j. The responses "would approve entirely", "would approve", "would disapprove" and "would disapprove entirely" were given weights of 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively. Respondents who did not answer the seven questions were coded as "no answer". A score was obtained by adding the responses together. The total scores range between 7 (low) and 28 (high). The correlation matrix for this index appears in Table A-6 (Appendix B). The alpha coefficient is 0.81.

The index is thus based on a set of questions designed to measure whether different groups or agents would approve or disapprove of a teacher discussing political affairs with students. The distribution of the total score over the seven items is as follows:

<u>Total score</u>	<u>Frequencies</u>	<u>%</u>
7	3	0.3
10	4	0.4
11	5	0.4
12	16	1.4
13	16	1.4
14	76	6.7
15	75	6.6
16	70	6.2
17	102	9.0
18	130	11.5
19	139	12.3
20	139	12.3
21	131	11.6
22	67	5.9
23	57	5.0
24	36	3.2
25	25	2.2
26	20	1.8
27	9	0.8
28	10	0.9
TOTAL	1130	

The index that was adopted was developed by categorizing teachers' scores ranging from 7 to 19 as low degrees of perceived negative sanctions in regard to political discussions, and scores ranging from 20 to 28 as high degrees of perceived negative sanctions.

3.3. Analysis of the data

The analysis of the data begins with a descriptive analysis of different elements of teacher political discussion with students (Chapter 4). In this part of the analysis, we will not try to test the

hypotheses that we formulated in Chapter 2, and will limit ourselves presenting descriptive data on various aspects of teacher political discussion. We wish to determine (a) how important teachers perceive the school as an agency of political socialization, (b) how they define their own role in regard to political discussion with the students, (c) whether their perception of the importance of the school as an agency of political socialization and their role definition differ from those of parents, students and principals, (d) their actual propensity to discuss politics with the students, (e) in what circumstances they discuss politics with them, and (f) the strategies they consider most appropriate when controversial social or political topics arise in the classroom.

Beyond this descriptive analysis of various elements affecting teachers' discussion of political affairs with the students, we will continue the analysis in Chapters 5 to 8 with only one of these elements, the actual propensity of teachers (as reported by the teachers) to discuss politics with the students.

The type of analysis which will be conducted is a cross-tabulation survey analysis. The analysis will not be limited however to testing the hypothesis we have formulated in regard to the relations between dependent variables and independent variables, and between independent variables only. We also want

(a) to identify, within the various sets of independent variables, those variables which have the most important effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, in order to further develop the analysis using these variables,

(b) to assess the relative effect of the different types of independent variables on the dependent variable.

(c) to develop the analysis further, when an association between an independent variable and the dependent variable is demonstrated, by introducing a third variable in order to identify intervening variables, to bring out conditional relationships, and to assess whether the effect of one variable is independent of that of another as the case may be.

In Chapter 5, we will first try to show that the propensity of teachers to discuss politics is part of a configuration of political and educational orientations and/or behaviors, and second, we will try to identify which of these variables emerge as the most important among this set of variables. In Chapter 6, we will analyse the effects of various elements related to the teachers' network of interaction (expectations of members of the role-set, perceived sanctions and role conflict, opportunities for political discussion) on teachers' political discussion, and try to determine their relative importance in comparison to each other. In Chapter 7, we will test the hypotheses in regard to the effects of teachers' social and occupational backgrounds on their propensity to discuss politics and on their educational and occupational orientations, and to identify which of these variables has the greatest effect. In Chapter 8, we will test the hypotheses in regard to the effect of the community and organizational characteristics of the school on both the propensity of teachers to discuss politics and on the various elements related to the teachers' network of interaction, again trying to identify which community and organizational characteristics have the greatest effect.

Data will always be presented separately for French-speaking and English-speaking teachers, because, as the reader will recall, our teachers sample is stratified as to the language of the school, and also because we wish to observe whether the two groups of teachers differ from each other. In Chapters 5 to 8 (chapters which are not limited to a simple descriptive analysis, as in Chapter 4) we will always begin by empirically examining the relationship between the propensity of teachers to discuss politics and the variables which have been hypothesized to be associated with the teachers' political discussion. This first level of analysis will be conducted with both French-speaking and English-speaking teachers. Once statistically significant relationships between the propensity of teachers to discuss politics and the other variables have been demonstrated, the analysis will be developed in the way we have indicated below. Only the French-speaking teachers sub-sample will be used, in order to simplify the analysis, and because in too many cases the size of the sub-sample of English-speaking teachers would not allow us to conduct a cross-tabulation analysis which would be statistically significant.

Chi square tests were used to determine whether or not an observed relationship between two variables is significant. The level of significance has been fixed at .05. This means that a relationship between two variables will be interpreted as being significant only when there is a 5 percent chance or less that the observed relationship is a random relationship. Only exceptionally and when the context of the analysis justifies it will a relationship between two variables be interpreted as being significant at a level of significance higher than 0.05. The value of χ^2 , the number of degrees of freedom and the level of significance appear at the bottom of the tables, except in the cases of a few tables

(Chapter 4) presenting too large an amount of data to allow the listing of all the data concerning the χ^2 . In these cases a simpler procedure of presentation of χ^2 results was adopted, which consists in indicating whether a significant difference in χ^2 test exists at or beyond the 5% level of significance.

The Phi coefficient (in the case of 2x2 tables) and Cramer's V coefficient (in the case of tables which are not 2x2) will be used to assess the strength of a relationship between two variables. These coefficients are calculated from χ^2 value (adjusted for sample size). The reason we have chosen these coefficients is that they are measures of association between two variables for any kind of variable (nominal, ordinal or interval level). The coefficient varies from 0, when no relationship exists, to 1, when the variables are perfectly related. The direction of the relationship is not given by a sign (- or +) of the coefficient, but may be observed from the crosstabs.

We now turn to the descriptive analysis of various aspects of teachers' political discussion with students.

CHAPTER 4

TEACHER'S ROLE DEFINITION AND STRATEGIES WITH RESPECT
TO POLITICAL DISCUSSION, AND THE PROPENSITY
OF TEACHERS TO DISCUSS POLITICS WITH STUDENTS

The school as an agency of political socialization has been at the center of many debates during the last ten years in Quebec, as we saw in Chapter 1. Teachers, especially French-speaking teachers, have been accused of indoctrinating high school students with socialist and independentist ideas, especially during the October Crisis, and of conveying values and ideologies which do not reflect the predominant ideologies and values of the population. We then tried to situate the controversies surrounding this question into the social and political context of the implementation of school reform, the growing militancy of teachers, and the rise of French-canadian neo-nationalism. But we did not have access to any empirical data to document the question.

We will begin our analysis by introducing empirical data on various aspects of teachers' discussion of politics with the students. Do teachers discuss political affairs with the students as often as some elements of the population are inclined to think? Do they perceive the school as an important agent of political socialization? How do they define their role in regard to political discussion with the students?

Do they define their role differently from what the parents of the students, the students themselves, and the school principal would expect? Are they inclined to discuss politics with the students in the classroom or outside the classroom? In the course of discussions which relate or which do not relate to the subject they teach? When they discuss politics, which strategies do they consider most appropriate? In other words, what are the basic facts about teachers' discussion of politics with the students? Is the situation as disturbing as some have come to think?

The answers to these questions, in addition to shedding some light on an issue which has been the subject of political controversy in Quebec during the last decade, will also indicate:

- (a) to what extent teachers' discussion of politics with the students represents an important educational process of transmission of political orientations;
- (b) to what extent teachers tend to intervene explicitly in the political socialization process which takes place in schools, and to play the active and explicit role of mediator in this process.

4.1. Teachers' perception of the importance of the school as an agent of political socialization and teachers' role definition in regard to political discussion

In order to determine the importance teachers attach to the school as an agent of political socialization, they were asked "how important a role should the high school play in introducing students to the world of politics"¹. Table 4.1a shows that 71% of teachers in French-

¹ For the question relating to the perception teachers have of the importance of the school and other agents of political socialization, see Appendix A, question 21.

language schools and 77% of teachers in English-language schools feel that this role should be very important or fairly important.² This means that for most teachers, and more so for English-speaking than for French-speaking teachers, the school appears as an important agent of political socialization.

But the school is not the only agent of political socialization. As we saw in Chapter 1, the family, the mass media, peer groups, occupations and professions, corporations, labour unions, churches, political parties and volunteer associations may be considered as other agents of socialization to whose influence people are exposed during their lifetimes. We have also endeavored to assess the relative importance teachers attach to the school as an agent of political socialization by asking them how important a role other agents should play in introducing students to politics. We have limited our comparison to the family, friends, the mass media and student associations, because no data on other agents was available and because these agents are among the most significant at the high school stage of the student's lifetime.

It appears from Table 4.1a that:

- all five agents of socialization are perceived as very important or fairly important by teachers, in proportions varying from 64% to 93%;
- the family and the mass media are perceived as very important or fairly important in a larger proportion than is the school itself. However

2 In order to simplify the presentation of the analysis, from now on we will use the terms French-speaking and English-speaking to designate the teachers, the principals, the parents and the students of the French-language and the English-language institutions. The reader should keep in mind that these expressions refer to the language used at the institutions where the teachers and the principals work, where the students are registered, and where the parents send their children to school, and not to their mother tongue or to the language they use outside the educational institution.

TABLE 4.1

Percentage of teachers, parents, students and principals who think that the school has a very important or a fairly important role to play in introducing students to the world of politics, by school language

Agents of political socialization	A. Teachers' perception		B. Parents' perception		C. Students' perception		(1)		D. Principals' perception	
	French-speaking	English-speaking	French-speaking	English-speaking	French-speaking	English-speaking	French-speaking	English-speaking	French-speaking	English-speaking
Family	91 (1096)	93 (314)	70 (1321)	76 (572)	78 (18730)	80 (6704)*	91 (157)*	100 (68)		
Mass Media	85 (1089)	88 (312)	78 (1316)	76 (569)	82 (18693)	78 (6645)*	91 (157)	83 (66)		
High School	71 (1088)*	77 (313)	50 (1303)*	60 (566)	65 (18653)	73 (6679)*	86 (155)*	74 (66)		
Student associations	74 (1091)*	66 (308)	57 (1309)	54 (569)	66 (18652)	65 (6648)*	73 (155)*	59 (64)		
Students' friends	64 (1080)	69 (312)	41 (1304)	43 (565)	45 (18462)	45 (6639)	5* (152)*	79 (66)		

Significant differences in χ^2 test between French and English schools beyond the 5% level.

1 Data on students have been weighted because two sub-strata (Secondary I and V students) had been oversampled (compared to the stratum of Secondary III students) for the purpose of the longitudinal study on students' aspirations. The real numbers of French-speaking and English-speaking students are around 11,150 and 4,100 respectively. Secondary I and III students have been given a weight of 2.05 and 12.90 respectively in the case of students attending French-language schools, and of 2.02 and 9.37 respectively in the case of students attending English-language schools.

- teachers tend to perceive the school as more important than the peer group (students' friends, student associations);
- the same trend may be observed among French and English-speaking teachers. The only difference is that English-speaking teachers tend to attach slightly more importance to the school (77% vs 71%), and slightly less to student associations (66% vs 74%), than do French-speaking teachers.

Thus although teachers perceive the school as an important agent of political socialization, they tend to attach even more importance to the family and the mass media.

To what extent do teachers differ from parents, students and principals in their assessment of the importance of the school as an agent of political socialization? Are they inclined, as some people tend to believe, to attach more importance to the school than do parents, students and principals?

This is definitely not the case. Parents, students and principals were asked the same question as were teachers about the importance of different agents of political socialization.³ It appears from Table 4.1b, c, and d that:

- parents, students and principals, like teachers, tend to consider all five agents to play a very important or fairly important role in introducing students to politics. There is only one exception: as few as 41% and 43% of the parents, and 45% of the students, feel that students' friends play an important role;

³ These data have been collected through questionnaires administered to samples of parents and students, and to the principals of the schools where teachers were sampled.

- the family and the mass media, as are teachers, tend to be perceived as fairly important or very important agents of political socialization in a larger proportion than is the school itself. As is the case with teachers, parents, students and principals tend to perceive the school as being very important or fairly important in a larger proportion, than are peer groups (students' friends and student associations);
- French-speaking and English-speaking parents, principals and students do not differ basically from each other except in the following cases: French-speaking parents attach less importance to the school than do English-speaking parents; French-speaking principals attach more importance to the family, the school, and student associations, but less importance to students' friends than do English-speaking parents; French-speaking students attach less importance to the school than do their English-speaking counterparts.

On the whole then, teachers do not differ basically from parents, principals and students in their assessment of the importance of the school as an agent of political socialization.

But although teachers may consider the school as an important agent of political socialization, they may however not be inclined to discuss politics with the students. We saw in Chapter 1 that there are many processes through which schools may transmit political values and ideologies. The curriculum, classroom ritual life, teachers, extra-curricular activities, and the social structure of the school setting constitute many channels for the transmission of political norms and ideas. Teachers may consider that it is not through political discussions with the students that the school may play an important role in introducing

students to the world of politics. They may not define for themselves the active and explicit role of mediator in the processes of political socialization at school. How do they define their role? Are they in favor of political discussion with the students? Do they define their role in regard to political discussion with the students differently from what parents, principals and students would expect?

Teachers' role definition has been measured by asking the teachers whether they strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statement: "It is part of a teacher's job to discuss political affairs with his students".⁴ This question was also included in the questionnaires administered to parents, students and principals, in order to measure their expectations towards the role of teachers with regard to discussion of political affairs with the students.

Table 4.2a shows that teachers favor political discussion with the students much less than they tend to recognize the school as an important agent of political socialization. A majority of Quebec teachers (53% and 59%) are not in favor of political discussion, and French-speaking teachers tend to be more in favor than English-speaking teachers (47% vs 41%). These results contrast with a certain image of the teacher that some controversies have contributed to project. The results appear however more in accordance with what we referred to in Chapter 1 as the traditional political culture of the school or the predominant school ideology with respect to politics according to which "education should be kept out of politics". We should recognize however that a strong minority

⁴ For the question relating to teacher's role definition in regard to political discussion with students, see Appendix A, question 15b.

TABLE 4.2

Teachers' role definition and role expectations of students, parents and principals, with regard to discussion by teachers of political affairs with the students, by school language

	A. Teachers' role definition (1)		B. Parents' expectations (2)		C. Students' expectations (3)*		D. Principals' expectations (4)	
	French-speaking	English-speaking	French-speaking	English-speaking	French-speaking	English-speaking	French-speaking	English-speaking
In favor of discussions by teachers of political affairs with the students	47	41	43	41	60	53	60	50
Not in favor of discussions by teachers of political affairs with the students	53	59	57	59	40	47	40	50
	(1242)	(343)	(1312)	(565)	(27545)	(8385)	(171)	(66)

*Data on students have been weighted according to the same procedure as in Table 4.1.

1 $\chi^2 = 3.58$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.05$, $\phi = 0.05$.

2 $\chi^2 = 0.85$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.50$, $\phi = 0.02$.

3 $\chi^2 = 43.71$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.05$.

4 $\chi^2 = 1.64$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.20$, $\phi = 0.09$.

(47% vs 41%) of teachers challenges this element of the traditional political culture of the school.

Does teachers' role definition in regard to political discussion with the students differ from what parents, students and principals tend to expect? We will now compare the results of teachers' role definition with those of role expectations of parents, students and principals.

Table 4.2b, shows that:

- teachers' role definition does not differ from parents expectations: parents are against political discussions with the students in about the same proportion (57% and 59%) as the teachers (52% and 59%) themselves.
- students (60% and 53%) and principals (60% and 50%) tend to be much more in favor of teachers' political discussion than are parents and the teachers themselves. This trend is similar in both English-language and French-language schools, except that French-speaking students tend to be significantly more in favor of political discussion than are English-speaking students.

Thus, although teachers' definition of their role in regard to political discussion with the students tends to correspond with parents' expectations, teachers are less in favor of political discussion than are students and principals.

4.2. The propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students

The results pertaining to teachers' role definition have revealed the norm which teachers define for themselves in regard to political

discussion with the students, but do not indicate whether teachers actually discuss politics with the students. How do they actually behave? When they tend to discuss politics, do they discuss in the classroom or outside the classroom? In the course of discussion which relates or which does not relate to the subject taught? Do they tend to behave in accordance with their role definition, or to discuss politics only when they are in favor of political discussion? How do the anti-discussion teachers behave?

The empirical indicator of teachers' role behavior which has been used to measure this variable is the propensity of teachers (as reported by the teachers) to discuss political affairs with the students. Four situations in which the teachers may discuss political affairs with the students have been distinguished.

- Discussion in class, related to the subject taught by the teachers;
- discussion in class, unrelated to the subject taught by the teachers;
- discussion out of class, related to the subject taught by the teachers;
- discussion out of class, unrelated to the subject taught by the teachers.⁵

The reader will recall that these indicators are those from which the index of the propensity of teachers to discuss politics has been constructed. In Chapter 3 we mentioned that these indicators are based on teachers' own reports of their political discussion with students, and we explained why we have had to assume that teachers' actual behavior corresponds to their reports.

⁵ For the questions relating to teachers' political discussions with students, see Appendix A, question 17.

Table 4.3 presents in detail the results for each of the four indicators. It shows that, on the whole, Quebec teachers do not discuss⁶ politics very often with the students:

- Only 6% and 13% of French-speaking and English-speaking teachers respectively often discuss political affairs with the students (Table 4.3b);
- 28% and 22% respectively never discuss politics with the students (Table 4.3c);
- 58% and 46% respectively rarely or never discuss politics in any of the four situations, and 42% and 54% respectively discuss politics often or occasionally in one or more of the four situations (Table 4.3d).

The trend is thus similar in both French-language and English-language schools, although English-speaking teachers tend to discuss politics with the students more often than French-speaking teachers.

- the percentage of English-speaking teachers who never discuss politics is lower (22% vs 28%) than that of French-speaking teachers;
- the proportion of those who discuss politics often is higher (13% vs 6%);
- the percentage of those who discuss politics often or occasionally in one or more of the four situations is higher in English-language schools (54% vs 42%) than French-language schools;
- English-speaking teachers discuss politics more often than French-speaking teachers in three of the four situations mentioned above.

In what situations do teachers tend to discuss politics with the students? Table 4.4 shows that French-speaking teachers do so more

⁶ The reader should keep in mind that from now on the expression "teachers discuss..." means "teachers report that they discuss...".

TABLE 4.3
Propensity of teachers to discuss political affairs with the students, by school language

	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
A. <u>Discussion in class, related to the subject taught</u> (1)	23 77 (1179)	45 55 (333)
Discussion <u>in class, unrelated to the subject taught</u> (1)	16 84 (1173)	26 74 (324)
Discussion <u>out of class, related to the subject taught</u> (1)	23 77 (1175)	30 70 (329)
Discussion <u>out of class, unrelated to the subject taught</u> (2)	31 69 (1177)	29 72 (326)
B. <u>Often discuss political affairs with the students in one of the preceding situations or more.</u> (1)	6 (1138)	13 (305)
C. <u>Never discuss political affairs with the students whatever the four preceding situations.</u> (1)	28 (1160)	22 (305)
D. <u>Often or occasionally discuss political affairs with the students in one of the preceding situations or more.</u> (1)	42	54
<u>Rarely or never discuss political affairs with the students whatever the four preceding situations.</u> (1)	58 (1138)	46 (305)

1 Differences in χ^2 test beyond the 5% level.

2 No significant differences in χ^2 test were found.

readily outside the classroom (23 and 31%) than in the classroom (23 and 17%). When in class, they tend to discuss politics more in the course of discussion related to the subject they teach (23%) than in the course of discussion unrelated to their subject (16%). Outside class, it is the reverse. They tend to do so more in the course of discussions unrelated to the subject they teach (31%) than in the course of discussions related to their subject (23%). Whatever the type of situations, English-speaking teachers discuss politics with their students more often than French-speaking teachers, except in out-of-class discussions unrelated to the subject they teach (29 vs 31%). It is in the classroom, in the course of discussions related to the subject they teach that English-speaking teachers tend most often to discuss politics with their students (45%). Outside the classroom, they tend to discuss politics in the same proportion whether or not the discussions are related to the subject they teach.

The reader will recall that instead of developing the analysis of the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students using the four indicators we have analyzed up to now in detail, we will use the index of the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students that has been constructed from these four indicators.⁷ Table 4.5 presents the data on the relationship between this index and the language of the school. The results obtained from the index confirm those of the detailed analysis of the four indicators: French-speaking teachers tend to discuss politics with students less often than English-speaking teachers (49% vs 59% with a high propensity).

⁷ For a detailed description of the index of the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students, see Chapter 3.

TABLE 4.4

Percentage of teachers who discuss political affairs often or occasionally, by relation of discussion to subject taught and by school language

	French-speaking teachers		English-speaking teachers	
	Discussion in class	Discussion out of class	Discussion in class	Discussion out of class
In the course of discussions related to the subject taught	23 (1179)	23 (1175)	45 (333)	30 (329)
In the course of discussions unrelated to the subject taught	16 (1173)	31 (1177)	26 (324)	29 (326)

TABLE 4.5

Propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students, by school language

Index propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students ¹	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
High	49	59
Low	51 (1160)	41 (322)

¹ $\chi^2 = 10.75$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.09$.

We now turn to the analysis of the relationship between teachers' role definition and teachers' behavior (as reported by the teachers). Do teachers tend to translate their own role definition into their behavior? To what extent is the propensity of teachers to discuss politics determined by their role definition or the normative orientation they define for themselves? Table 4.6 shows that teachers' behavior is strongly associated with teachers' role definition. The proportion of the pro-discussion teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics is at least twice as high as it is for anti-discussion teachers, among both French-speaking and English-speaking teachers. The general trend however needs to be qualified:

- although they are in favor of political discussion, French-speaking pro-discussion teachers do not discuss politics very often with students: only 33%, 28%, 32% and 46% (according to the discussion situation) discuss politics often or occasionally with the students. This means that many of them do not discuss politics as often as they think they should (47%), except perhaps in the case of discussion out of class, unrelated to the subject taught.
- English-speaking pro-discussion teachers tend to discuss politics more often (64%, 45%, 45% and 14%) than French-speaking teachers. They also tend to behave more in accordance with their own role definition.
- anti-discussion teachers, whether French or English-speaking, tend to behave in accordance with their role definition. As Table 4.6 shows, between 32% and 93% of French-speaking, and between 68% and 86% of English-speaking anti-discussion teachers rarely or never discuss politics with the students. However a minority in both groups tends to discuss politics with students even though they feel they should

TABLE 4.6

Propensity of teachers to discuss politics, by teachers' role definition and by school language

	French-language schools		English-language schools	
	Pro-discussion teachers	Anti-discussion teachers	Pro-discussion teachers	Anti-discussion teachers
Discussion in class related to the subject taught	33 67 (531)	13 87 (625)	64 36 (127)	32 68 (189)
Discussion in class unrelated to the subject taught	28 72 (527)	7 93 (624)	45 55 (120)	14 86 (187)
Discussion out of class related to the subject taught	32 68 (528)	15 85 (625)	45 55 (125)	21 79 (187)
Discussion out of class unrelated to the subject taught	46 54 (532)	18 82 (623)	44 56 (121)	19 81 (188)

All the differences in χ^2 test between pro-discussion and anti-discussion teachers for French-language and English-language schools are significant beyond the 5% level.

not, and this minority is larger among English-speaking teachers (32%, 14%, 21%, 19%, according to the discussion situation, compared to 13%, 7%, 15% and 18% among French-speaking teachers).

It is thus interesting to point out that many pro-discussion teachers do not discuss politics with the students, and that anti-discussion teachers (in a smaller proportion) do discuss politics. The analysis of these results brings back into the discussion the problem of the explanatory power of normative orientations on behavior. It also confirms us in our intention of assessing the effect of perceived sanctions in regard to political discussion, and of opportunities for political discussions, on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics. As Carlin (1966, p. 174) points out, "there is no doubt that norms exercise some influence on behavior, but the question of how much influence is highly debatable".

4.3. Strategies for political discussion

In order to complete our description of different elements of teachers' discussion of political affairs with the students, we would now like to determine how teachers tend to approach political discussion with the students. What strategies would they tend to develop in order to deal with political discussions? There is no consensus as to the strategies teachers should adopt when discussing politics with the students. Many think, as we have seen, that they should not even discuss political affairs with the students at all.

Jones (1971) has pointed to four dilemmas teachers may face when dealing with socio-political controversial topics. They may want to:

- emphasize the values in conflict or emphasize the causes and effects of the controversy;
- try to make the issue concrete or keep the controversy abstract;
- maintain a neutral position or give their opinion on the issue;
- develop class consensus or position, or encourage independent individual conclusion.

Jones' ideological starting point is that the goal of political socialization should be to create and maintain a responsible, informed and participating citizenry. Her assumptions are the following: (a) teachers hold a key position in the political socialization process in school, (b) teachers play an active role, bring their own perspective to the curriculum and to the substantive material they seek to teach, (c) their impact upon the students depends as much upon their offering appropriate models for identification as upon teaching content per se.

Jones' model postulated that, in order to achieve a participating citizenship ideal, controversial issues should be dealt with extensively by teachers. When dealing with controversies, teachers should also use approaches that are consistent with the goals of a democratic political socialization. According to her ideological starting point and her assumptions, the four approaches which she thought more appropriate in fostering democratic citizenship in the students were the following: teachers would have to

- "(1) deal with the basic values that were in conflict in order to establish a comprehensive understanding of the issues (such an approach readily could include cause and effect discussion whereas an approach focusing on cause and effect, without explicit recognition of conflicting values, could easily stay in the realm of the superficial and trivial);

- (2) make the issues as concrete as possible ... so as to give the discussion a workaday-world reality and relevance;
- (3) espouse a position on the issue in an objective, impersonal, reasoned way, sharing his reasoning with his students, recognizing the weaknesses of his position and encouraging criticism, comments and differences (to be an active participant in the democratic political process is to take, analyze, and criticize positions. Unless concerned neutrality can be distinguished from vague ambivalence, the image presented by the teacher could work against the fostering of active, interested citizens...)
- (4) develop class consensus or position through a procedure that mirrors the social/political process of compromising, giving and taking. Admittedly, one seeking to develop individual skills or critical inquiry and decision-making would encourage independent, individual conclusion-making. But unless individuals learn and are prepared for the realities of power politics and consensus-making, they are not prepared for the real political world." (p. 109).

We do not share Jones' opinion that the four approaches she selected are more consistent with the goals of a democratic political socialization at school than the four she rejected. This position would presuppose that there is only one "good" method of teaching political orientations and one "good" style of teaching. This is an unstated assumption which underestimates the complexity of the factors influencing both the teaching style and the effectiveness of a teacher.

The four approaches selected by Jones appear more consistent with certain pedagogical ideologies or conceptions of teaching effectiveness than with the goals of a democratic political socialization at school. For example, the strategy "make the issue concrete" is in accordance with a pedagogical ideology which values child-centered approaches to teaching. Perhaps we could also understand teachers' overwhelming preference for another strategy (students' individual

conclusion-making), as Jones (1971) points out, in terms of the current emphasis which pedagogical ideologies place on individual development and individualization of teaching.

The selection by teachers of the two other approaches retained by Jones would also depend, in our view, upon teachers' pedagogical ideologies. Jones points out that the controversy about teacher neutrality has been extensive and the new approaches in social studies literature tend to be towards legitimating the position-taking approach. However there is no doubt that if a teacher believes, as Jones does, that the impact of a teacher upon his students' political orientation is created as much by offering appropriate models for identification as by teaching content per se, he or she will be less reluctant to become involved in a political discussion or to take a position on an issue. In the same way, if a teacher highly values an approach focusing on empirical analysis of a situation, he would be more inclined to select the "causes and effect" approach. And this would not necessarily mean that his approach does not lead to a democratic political socialization.

Although we do not agree with Jones that four of the approaches she has identified are more consistent with the goals of a democratic political socialization at school than those she has rejected, we do however recognize the relevance of her typology in describing the dilemmas teachers face in leading political discussion. This is why we wished to replicate the study. We do believe that these approaches are complementary, and that their selection should not necessarily presuppose whether or not they are consistent with the goals of a democratic political socialization.

Teachers' approaches to socio-political controversies in class have been measured by asking teachers four forced-choice questions: "In a situation where controversial social or political topics arise in class, there are several types of strategies a teacher can adopt. For each of the following pairs, indicate which strategies you would consider most appropriate (choose only one strategy from each pair, even if both seem acceptable)..."⁸. The questions were formulated in such a way as to measure not their actual behavior, but rather which approaches they would tend to use if a controversy arose in class, whether or not they are in favor of political discussion and whether they or the students take the initiative during political discussion in class.⁸

The responses to the four strategy approach questions (Table 4.7) indicate that there is rather strong agreement among both the French-speaking and the English-speaking teachers on four approaches to discussion. In a situation where controversial socio-political topics arise, teachers would tend to:

- emphasize the causes and effects of the controversy (61%, 61%),
- make the issue concrete (85% and 77%),
- maintain a neutral position (68%, 73%),
- encourage independent individual conclusion (83%, 87%).

French-speaking teachers do not differ significantly from English-speaking teachers, except that more French-speaking (85%) than English-speaking teachers (77%) tend to favor the approach in which the issue is made concrete.

⁸ For the question relating to teachers' strategies for discussion of controversial topics, see Appendix A, question 19.

TABLE 4.7

Teachers' strategies for dealing with
controversial topics, by school language

Strategies	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
A. Emphasize the values in conflict or Emphasize the causes or effects of the controversy (1)	39 61 (1080)	39 61 (290)
B. Try to make the issue concrete or Keep the controversy abstract (2)	85 15 (1074)	77 23 (292)
C. Maintain a neutral position or Give your position on the issue (3)	68 32 (1111)	73 27 (305)
D. Develop class consensus or position or Encourage independent individual conclusion (4)	17 83 (1056)	13 87 (299)

- 1 $\chi^2 = 0.01$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.95$, $\phi = 0.00$.
 2 $\chi^2 = 7.58$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.08$.
 3 $\chi^2 = 3.12$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.08$, $\phi = 0.04$.
 4 $\chi^2 = 3.87$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.05$, $\phi = 0.05$.

We would now like to determine whether teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics tend to adopt approaches which are different from those used by teachers who do not discuss politics with the students. Table 4.8 shows that, in general, this is not true either for French-speaking or for English-speaking teachers. There are two exceptions. Teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics tend to adopt the "position-taking" approach in a larger proportion than those who seldom discuss politics among both French-speaking (42% vs 22%) and English-speaking (32% vs 16%) teachers. But whether they discuss politics or not, a majority of teachers still select a "neutrality" approach. English-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics also tend in a larger proportion to use the "make the issue concrete" approach than those with a low propensity (83% vs 69%).

We have already pointed out that the selection by teachers of approaches for political discussion may be conditioned by their pedagogical ideologies or conception of teaching effectiveness. What results from the selection of two of these approaches calls for additional comments. A majority of teachers selected the "encourage individual conclusion" approach instead of the "develop a class position" approach. One may wonder whether teachers are aware of the complexity involved in reaching a group position on an issue, especially in a learning situation where a group explores different dimensions of an issue for the first time. Teachers may feel that development of a class position on an issue in political discussion would be time-consuming, and that the time spent reaching a class position could hinder the teacher and the class in exploring or analyzing other important issues.

TABLE 4.8

Teachers' strategies for dealing with controversial topics,
by propensity of teachers to discuss politics, and by school language

Strategies (1)	French-speaking		English-speaking	
	High propensity %	Low propensity %	High propensity %	Low propensity %
A. Emphasize the values in conflict or Emphasize the causes and effects	40 (536)	37 (503)	44 (177)	32 (104)
B. Try to make the issue concrete or keep the controversy abstract	87 (534)	82 (500)	83 (178)	69 (103)
C. Maintain a neutral position or Give our opinion	58 (543)	78 (529)	68 (180)	84 (113)
D. Develop class consensus or position or Encourage independent individual conclusion	17 (526)	17 (495)	12 (88)	13 (87)

1 Significant differences in χ^2 test between high and low propensity teachers beyond the 5% level in the case of approach C among both French-speaking and English-speaking teachers, and in the case of approach B among English-speaking teachers. No significant differences in χ^2 test were found in the other cases.

A majority of teachers in our sample also prefer to maintain a neutral position. One may wonder whether this is not an illusory neutrality. Schools, through the different processes of transmission described in Chapter 1, tend to convey the predominant values and ideologies of the society in which they are a part. Schools are not ideologically neutral, and teachers' abstention from taking a position in political discussion will not contribute to making the school neutral either. In this context, we are inclined to think that teachers, who are mediators in the political socialization process at school, may to a certain extent rightly help the students identify and critically assess predominant values and ideologies and the way these are applied in concrete situations. We tend to think, as does Jones, that the attainment of this objective may be better served pedagogically by "an open-minded reasoned position-taking approach that invites examination" than by a "maintaining a neutral position" approach.

There is another element which we would like to analyze in relation to the propensity of teachers to discuss politics. This is the perception teachers have of the students' propensity to spontaneously and of their own accord initiate political discussions with teachers.

In order to measure the perceived propensity of the students to initiate political discussion, teachers who do discuss political affairs with students (however frequently or infrequently) were asked whether they take the initiative more often than students do, as often as students do, or whether students take the initiative more often than they do. Teachers who never discuss politics with students were asked whether the students

take the initiative or not, and what their reaction is or would be in each case.⁹

Tables 4.9 and 4.10 present the results separately for teachers who do discuss politics and those who never do. It appears that among teachers who do discuss politics (Table 4.9), the proportion of those who perceive their students as taking the initiative more often than themselves is much higher (59% and 44%) than it is for those who perceive themselves as taking the initiative as or more often than the students do (12% and 18%). The trend is the same both for French-speaking and English-speaking teachers, but is significantly more accentuated among the former. Even among the teachers who never discuss politics with students (Table 4.10) one out of four teachers would be ready to discuss politics with students if the students took the initiative. This proportion is about the same for French-speaking (27%) as it is for English-speaking (25%) teachers, and is higher than that of teachers who refuse to discuss politics (21% and 18%) when students do occasionally take the initiative.

These results indicate that teachers are able to perceive a student's request or pressure from the student to discuss politics with them. On the one hand, one may wonder whether the teacher's perception of the students' request does not represent a "rationalization" on the part of the teacher which would "excuse" him from discussing politics with the students in a context where, according to their perception, the political culture of the school does not particularly encourage and may even forbid them to do so. On the other hand, one may wonder whether their perception

⁹ For the question relating to the perceived students' propensity to initiate political discussion, see Appendix A, question 18.

TABLE 4.9

Percentage of teachers who discuss politics with the students, by teachers' perception of the propensity of students to initiate political discussions and by school language

Teachers' perception of the propensity of students to initiate political discussions (1)	French-speaking	English-speaking
The teacher takes the initiative more often than the students do	12 (81)	18 (40)
The teacher takes the initiative as often as the students do	29 (194)	38 (86)
The students take the initiative more often than the teacher does	59 (398)	44 (100)

1 $\chi^2 = 15.43$ with 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.13$.

TABLE 4.10

Percentage of teachers who never discuss politics with the students, by teachers' attitudes in regard to initiating political discussion with the students and by school language

Teachers' attitudes in regard to initiating political discussion (1)	French-speaking	English-speaking
The students never take the initiative but the teacher would be willing to discuss politics with them	27 (83)	25 (17)
The students never take the initiative and at any rate the teacher would not be willing to discuss politics with them	52 (162)	57 (38)
The students occasionally take the initiative, but the teacher refuses to discuss politics with them	21 (67)	18 (12)

1 $\chi^2 = 0.61$ with 2 d.f., $p = 0.73$, Cramer's $V = 0.04$.

of the students' request does not reflect an important characteristic of the socialization process. Socialization may be seen as a two-way process in which both the socializer and the socializee not only influence but socialize each other, and may enter into a kind of bargaining and negotiation process (Goslin, 1969). This conception of socialization stems from the conception of interaction which characterizes the "interpretive paradigm", which we referred to in Chapter 2. It implies, in the case of the role of teachers in political socialization, that teachers may be influenced by the students, that students may even try to bargain with the teachers in the performance of their role, and, in the more particular case of teachers' political discussion, that teachers may be pressured by the students to discuss politics with them.

Our descriptive analysis of different elements concerning teachers' political discussion has shown that:

- although teachers consider the school as an important agency of political socialization, they tend to attach still more importance to the family and the mass media than to the school itself;
- teachers are divided on whether or not they should discuss politics with the students, and a majority of them are not in favor of political discussion;
- teachers tend to attach the same greater importance to the school as an agency of political socialization (as opposed to other agencies) as do parents, students and principals. They also tend to define their role with respect to political discussion in the same way as parents. They are however less in favor of political discussion than principals and students;

- teachers have a rather low propensity to discuss politics. French-speaking pro-discussion teachers actually tend to discuss politics less often than they think they should, while English-speaking pro-discussion teachers tend to behave more in accordance with their role definition. And an overwhelming majority of anti-discussion teachers do not discuss politics.
- when they discuss politics, teachers tend to do so outside the classroom, and in discussions unrelated to the subject taught, except in the case of English-speaking teachers;
- in discussion of controversial socio-political topics, they tend to maintain a neutral position, to make the issue concrete, to discuss in terms of the causes and effects of the controversy, and to encourage independent individual conclusion-forming;
- the main differences between French-speaking and English-speaking teachers is that English-speaking teachers discuss politics more often, behave more in accordance with their role definition if they are pro-discussion and less if they are anti-discussion, and when they do discuss politics they do so more often in the classroom than do French-speaking teachers.
- teachers who discuss politics with students often agree to do so upon the initiative of the students. Even among those who do not discuss politics, about 25% would be willing to do so if the students took the initiative.

These results far from reflect an image often given to teachers of discussing politics with the students at great length, and of trying to use the classroom tribune to indoctrinate students with ideologies that are not congruent with those of parents and school administrators.

One may wonder whether instead of being afraid of teachers being too deeply involved in the political socialization process in the school, parents and school administrators should not be more concerned about the reluctance of teachers to assume responsibilities which the school administrators themselves and the students wish them to accept.

These results do not only contribute to rectifying a false image which teachers have. They also indicate that teachers tend not to intervene explicitly as active mediators through political discussions in the political socialization process in the school. This does not mean that the school does not play a role in this process. There are, as we saw in Chapter 1, other processes of transmission of political orientations (the curriculum, classroom rituals, the social structure of the school, etc.). The data presented in this chapter are only indicative of the relatively low salience of explicit political discussions as a school process of political socialization.

Perhaps it would be relevant to complete this chapter by returning to a question which we formulated in Chapter 3 with respect to our measure of the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students. If teachers appear not to discuss politics very much with students, and if overt political discussion does not appear to be an important process of political socialization in the school, would not our measure of the propensity of teachers to discuss politics be inaccurate and invalid? Our measure is based on the teachers' own reports. They may have tended to underestimate their propensity to discuss politics, especially in the context of a public controversy surrounding teachers' political discussion.

and in a political culture where a widespread belief is that politics should be kept out of the schools.

As we recognized in Chapter 3, we have no way of determining whether teachers' actual behavior is consistent with their reports. This certainly sets limits on our measure. But we are inclined to think that teachers' actual behavior could not differ as significantly as it might appear at first from the way they claim to behave in regard to political discussions with students. We have seen that as far as their role definition (not their behavior) is concerned, a majority of teachers do not feel that it is part of their role to discuss politics with students.¹⁰ Rather, they tend to identify with the traditional political culture of the school. It would then be surprising to observe in their behavior a high propensity to discuss politics. But teachers could have tended to under-report both the fact that they were pro-discussion and their actual behavior. We will try in the conclusion (Chapter 9) to assess what the effect of the under-reporting of political discussion could have been compared the effects of the perceived negative sanctions and of self-censure on their propensity to discuss politics.

In this chapter, we have tried to present an overview of various aspects of teachers' political discussion with the students. In the following chapters, our analysis will focus only on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students. The next chapter will consist in showing that the propensity of teachers to discuss politics is part of a configuration of political and educational orientations.

10 This variable has been measured by an indicator which appears in a completely different part of the questionnaire than the indicators measuring teachers' role behavior, so that it would not be "contaminated" by the other responses.

CHAPTER 5

CONFIGURATION OF POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL ORIENTATIONS

The propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students is a rather specific behavior. We have formulated the hypothesis that this specific behavior is part of a configuration of political and educational orientations. The purpose of this chapter is to reconstitute this configuration. The questions which we would like to answer are the following. Is the propensity of teachers to discuss politics associated with a high degree of teacher political participation? Has a teacher's identification with a provincial political party anything to do with his propensity to discuss politics? For example, do Parti Quebecois teachers discuss politics more often with the students than do teachers who support the Liberal party? Are teachers who are characterized by conservative orientations less inclined to discuss political affairs with the students than teachers characterized by liberal orientations? Would not the propensity of teachers to discuss politics also be associated with their educational orientations, such as their conception of the goals of the school, and their claim for greater participation in the decision-making process of the school and greater professionalism?

5.1. Configuration of political orientations and values

Political participation and values are the first variables we will examine in our attempt to reconstitute the configuration of political orientations with which the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students is hypothesized to be associated. Common sense, as well as our model of analysis and a review of the literature, have lead us to analyse this relationship. The three variables which we will rely on to test this hypothesis are the index of teacher political participation, a teacher's party identification, and the index of a teacher's liberalism-conservatism.

Zeigler (1967) has already tested and confirmed the hypotheses which hold that political participation and liberal political orientations are associated with a teacher's "political expressivism". Our variable, "the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students", is however much more specific and less comprehensive than Zeiglers' variable, which included elements of teacher political involvement within the classroom as well as outside the school system. But we believe that these hypotheses are still worth testing in our analysis even though our variable is not defined in the same terms as Zeigler's. As for party identification, this variable does not measure political participation as such. Rather, it reflects political orientations which are expressed through the political party system. We have made the hypothesis that party identification will be associated with teachers' behavior because we assume that political parties tend to differ ideologically and therefore attract different supporters.

French-speaking teachers tend to be perceived by the public as being more involved in politics than are English-speaking teachers. Perhaps this image is based on the following: (a) the CEQ, the French-speaking teachers' union, has taken position many times on behalf of its membership on political issues which transcend the domain of the immediate professional interest of its members; (b) many French-speaking teachers have also been candidates in provincial elections, and some of them have been elected to the National Assembly. Because of this situation, French-speaking teachers are also perceived as being more inclined to discuss politics with the students than are English-speaking teachers. As we have already shown, French-speaking teachers actually discuss politics less often than do English-speaking teachers. What is their degree of political participation? And what is the effect of political participation on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students?

The results presented in Table 5.1 tend to confirm the public's image of French-speaking teachers.¹ They tend to be more involved in politics (43%) than English-speaking teachers (28%). In both groups, however, a majority (57% and 72%) scored low on the index of political participation.

The association between the index of political participation and the propensity of teachers to discuss politics appears in Table 5.2. Teachers with a high degree of political participation (63% and 72%) have a higher propensity to discuss politics with the students than those with a low degree (38% and 56%), among French-speaking and English-speaking

¹ For a detailed description of the index of teacher political participation, see Chapter 3.

TABLE 5.1

Teachers' political participation, by school language

Index of political participation (1)	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
High	43	28
Low	57	72
	(1090)	(297)

1 $\chi^2 = 24.15$, with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.12$.

TABLE 5.2

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by political participation and by school language

Index of political participation	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (2)
High	63 (469)	72 (83)
Low	38 (621)	54 (214)

1 $\chi^2 = 68.49$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.25$.

2 $\chi^2 = 7.36$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.17$.

teachers. The effect of political participation is greater however among French-speaking than among English-speaking teachers, as the PHI coefficients are .25 and .17 respectively. Thus, not only are French-speaking teachers more "politicized" than English-speaking teachers, but the effect of political participation on their propensity to discuss politics, though considerable among both groups, is greater among French-speaking than among English-speaking teachers.

Party identification of teachers has been measured by teachers' voting intentions.² Teachers were asked for what party they would vote if there were provincial elections at the time they answered the questionnaire (March-April 1972). Four categories have been used for the analysis: the Liberal party, the Parti Québécois, other political parties (Unité Québec - which was the name of the Union Nationale party at that time - and the Social Credit party) and another category for teachers who gave no answer, who indicated that they were undecided, who were not interested in politics, or who would abstain from voting.

As shown in Table 5.3, French-speaking teachers (41%) would have voted mainly for the Parti Québécois in 1972, English-speaking teachers (46%) would have voted for the Liberal Party, while in both groups only a small proportion (4%, 3%) would have voted for the other parties. The data should be interpreted cautiously, however, because of the high proportion (44% and 43% respectively) of those who answered that they were either undecided or would abstain from voting, or who refused to answer the question.

2. For the question relating to teachers' voting intentions, see Appendix A, question 11.

TABLE 5.3

Teachers' voting intentions, by school language

Teachers' voting intentions (1)	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
Liberal party	11	46
Parti Québécois	41	8
Other political parties	4	3
Undecided, abstention, No answer	44	43
	(1100)	(296)

1 $\chi^2 = 250.61$ with 3 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.40$.

The data on the relationship between a teacher's party identification and the propensity of teachers to discuss politics appear in Table 5.4. Teachers who declared their voting intentions tend to discuss politics more often with the students than those who did not. The differences in percentage are not statistically significant, however, in the case of English-speaking teachers. These results are in accordance with two tested propositions of political participation research: persons who strongly identify with or intensely prefer a given party are more likely to be involved in politics and to participate actively in politics (Milbrath, 1965, p. 53). But teachers who would have voted for the Parti Québécois do not discuss politics more often with the students than those who would have voted for the Liberal party, among both French-speaking and English-speaking teachers. The low percentage of teachers voting for "other parties" does not allow us to conduct an analysis of this category of teachers.

TABLE 5.4

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics,
by the teachers' voting intentions and by school language

Teachers' voting intentions	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (2)
Liberal party	56 (117)	64 (135)
Parti Québécois	60 (448)	64 (25)
Other political parties	55 (47)	80 (10)
Undecided, abstention, No answer	37 (488)	54 (126)

1 $\chi^2 = 50.49$ with 3 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.21$.

2 $\chi^2 = 4.52$ with 3 d.f., $p = 0.21$, Cramer's $V = 0.12$.

For the same reason we should be cautious in interpreting the results concerning English-speaking "Parti Québécois" teachers. But it seems there is no doubt that among French-speaking teachers, "Parti Québécois" teachers, contrary to what is often generally believed, do not discuss politics significantly more often than "Liberal party" teachers.

We have chosen to characterize teachers' political values in terms of liberalism-conservatism. It is difficult to delimit the liberalism-conservatism concept. Zeigler (1967, p. 21) has identified three dimensions of political conservatism. The first dimension refers to a certain position on domestic public policy and to opposition to the extension of government activities in regard to social security programs and control of economic activities. The second dimension refers to an inclination towards, and a dependence on the established order, a certain resistance to social change, and a propensity to support the status quo. The

third dimension refers to ultraconservative dogmas which emphasize morality and a certain kind of patriotism.

It has not been possible to operationalize all three dimensions of Zaigler's concept of political conservatism from our own data base. The four indicators, which were selected out of 7 items after an item analysis, focus on a certain propensity to support or not to support the status quo.³ Our hypothesis is that liberal teachers are more likely to discuss politics with the students than are conservative teachers. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that liberal teachers are more open to change and more ready to identify both with a new emerging political culture in the school, and with a new teachers' role definition, particularly in regard to discussion of politics with the students.

As shown in Table 5.5, English-speaking teachers tend to be significantly more liberal (60%) than French-speaking teachers (46%). The propensity of teachers to discuss politics also tends to be associated with liberal orientations among both French-speaking and English-speaking teachers (Table 5.6): liberal teachers (57% and 65%) are much more inclined to discuss politics than are conservative teachers (43% and 53%). And the effect of liberalism is about the same among both language groups ($\Phi = 0.14$ and 0.13 respectively).

Our analysis of teacher political participation and values has shown that (a) teachers who tend to discuss politics more often with the students are, as expected, liberal and actively involved in politics, (b) the political party with which teachers identify is not associated,

3 For a detailed description of the index of liberalism, see Chapter 3.

TABLE 5.5

Teacher liberalism-conservation, by school language

Index of liberalism-conservation (1)	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
High (liberalism)	46	60
Low (conservation)	54	40
	(1128)	(317)

1 $\chi^2 = 19.74$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.12$.

TABLE 5.6

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics with the students, by teacher liberalism-conservation and by school language

Index of liberalism-conservation	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (2)
High (liberalism)	57 (481)	65 (176)
Low (conservation)	43 (570)	53 (122)

1 $\chi^2 = 19.34$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.14$.2 $\chi^2 = 4.46$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.13$.

as had been hypothesized, with the propensity of teachers to discuss politics. On the whole, these results tend to confirm the existence of a configuration of political orientations with which teacher behavior in regard to political discussion is associated. In order to complete our demonstration, we shall try to determine whether teacher liberalism is associated with teacher political participation, and thus to assess the joint effect of both liberalism and political participation on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students. The analysis will deal only with French-speaking teachers.

According to Milbrath (1965, p. 84), who reviewed the literature on the effect of authoritarianism, a variable which is akin to our liberalism variable, there is "relatively little reliable evidence in the form of substantiated propositions" about the impact of this variable on political behavior. Although some studies indicate that authoritarian persons tend to be less involved in politics, the author suggests a wait and see attitude.

Table 5.7 shows that teacher liberalism is significantly associated with teacher political participation. This means that liberal teachers (53%) are more likely to participate in politics than conservative teachers (36%). Now, what is the effect of both teacher liberalism and political participation on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students?

Table 5.8 shows that

- (a) teacher political participation and liberalism tend to reinforce each other. Liberal teachers, who are actively involved in politics (71%),

TABLE 5.7

French-speaking teachers' political participation,
by teacher liberalism-conservatism

Index of political participation (1)	Index of liberalism-conservatism	
	High (liberalism) %	Low (conservatism) %
High	53	36
Low	47	64
	(491)	(589)

1 $\chi^2 = 31.07$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.17$.

TABLE 5.8

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high
propensity to discuss politics, by the teachers'
political participation and liberalism-conservatism

Index of political participation	Index of liberalism-conservatism	
	High (1) (liberalism)	Low (2) (conservatism)
High	71 (236)	53 (192)
Low	41 (211)	37 (354)

1 $\chi^2 = 39.58$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.30$.

2 $\chi^2 = 12.57$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.15$.

- discuss politics more often with the students than do conservative teachers, who are less actively involved in politics (37%);
- (b) the effects of teacher political participation and liberalism are partly independent of each other. Although teachers with a high degree of political participation discuss politics with students more often than those with a low degree of political participation, depending on whether they are liberal (71% vs 41%) or conservative (53% vs 37%), liberal teachers tend to discuss politics more often with students only if they have a high degree of political participation (71% vs 53%, 41% vs 37%). This means that the effect of liberalism is conditional upon the teacher's level of political participation, and that liberalism has an effect only on teachers who have a high degree of political participation.

The effect of political participation is greater than that of liberalism because when liberalism is controlled, the difference between those who participate and those who do not is 30% and 16%, while the difference between liberal and the conservative teachers is only 10% and 4% when political participation is controlled.

Thus, as expected, the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students appears to be part of a configuration of interrelated political orientations and values. Teachers who participate in politics and are liberal are more likely to discuss politics with the students. It appears that political participation and liberalism reinforce each other in this respect, especially among teachers with a high level of political participation. Although the propensity of teachers to discuss politics is a very specific behavior, it is not an isolated one. It is

part of the teachers' political profile. But is it also rooted in teachers' educational orientations and values? This is one question we wish to answer in the second part of this chapter.

5.2. Configuration of educational orientations

To what extent is the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students associated with their educational orientations, teaching styles, pedagogical approaches, and orientations as professionals in the school system? According to Westwood (1967), the relationship between teachers' educational orientations and role behavior is a "subject that would seem very worthy of investigation and one that has received hardly any" (p. 27). Corwin (1965) and Anderson (1966) have analyzed and researched the professional and bureaucratic orientations of teachers. Wallen and Traves (1963) have tried, in their analysis and investigation of the teaching methods, to identify different patterns of teacher behavior and to find sources from which this behavior is derived. More recently, Bennett (1976) has developed a typology of progressive and traditional teaching styles, and tried to assess their effectiveness with regard to learning. But on the whole, not much research has been done on teachers' educational, pedagogical and professional orientations, nor have the effects of these orientations on different aspects of teacher behavior been assessed.

Since we believe that the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students might be part of a configuration of pedagogical and professional orientations, we have tried to introduce into our analysis variables focusing on teachers' orientations as pedagogues and professional educators. However it has not been easy to identify and select elements

of a configuration of educational orientations that our data would allow us to operationalize and measure. The two elements which we have chosen to examine and been able to measure are the conception teachers have of the goals of the school, and a dimension of teachers' professional orientations, i.e. their propensity to claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school, i.e. to assert their authority as professionals. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find in the questionnaire indicators of teaching style, a variable whose effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics it would have been relevant to assess.

Does the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students vary with their conception of the goals of the school? Two types of school goals have been defined. Our typology is partly borrowed and adapted from Finlayson (1973, p. 189), who had himself partly derived his typology from Gross' (1968) classification of university goals. The two types of goals which have been identified for the purpose of our study are the following:

- "Student-expressive" goals, which are reflected in attempts to develop or change the student's identity or character;
- "Student-instrumental" goals, which are reflected in attempts to equip the student to operate in a specific way within the society.

In other words, student-expressive goals stress a type of liberal education focusing on the development of the student's personality, while student-instrumental goals focus on vocational training, and are more specifically oriented towards meeting the needs of the job market.

The two goals are not necessarily antinomic and contradictory. Teachers may want to strive to achieve both goals at the same time. One may wonder whether the ideologies which have oriented Quebec school reform have not proposed that Quebec teachers stress both orientations. The Parent Report, which defined the basic orientations of the school reform, contained two noteworthy recommendations. On the one hand, it stressed the necessity for the school system to adapt to the imperatives of an industrial society, to depart from a conception of education which tended to ignore technological changes, and to attach more importance to vocational training. On the other hand, the Parent Report proposed a "child-centered" pedagogical approach which is akin to the "student-expressive" goals of the school to which we have referred. How do teachers who in the context of the school reform may have been influenced by these ideologies tend to define the goals of the school? What is the effect of their conception of the school goals on their propensity to discuss politics with the students?

Two indicators have been selected to operationalize the conception teachers have of the goals of the school. The indicator measuring the student-expressive goals focuses on the necessity for the school to set up programs that suit the students' interests and personalities. The indicator measuring the student-instrumental goal focuses on the necessity for the school to set up courses and programs that meet the needs of the job market.⁴

4 For the questions relating to the indicators measuring the conceptions of the goals of the school (student-instrumental and student-expressive goals), see Appendix A, questions 15 a and c respectively.

The hypotheses are that (a) teachers who tend to stress a student-instrumental goal for the school are less likely to discuss politics with the students. It is assumed that these teachers are less inclined to invest in the development of a certain political consciousness in the student than are those who do not value the student-instrumental goals. (b) teachers who tend to stress a student-expressive goal for the school are more likely to discuss politics with the students. It is assumed that these teachers are more inclined to invest in the development of the student's political self through the school, and through political discussion in the school, than those who do not value this conception.

Table 5.9 shows that a majority of teachers of the two language groups are in favor of the two conceptions of school goals (student-instrumental and student-expressive goals). Hence, teachers do not see these two conceptions as contradictory, but rather as complementary. It should be noted however that English-speaking teachers tend to be less in favor of a student-instrumental goal (72% vs 80%) and more in favor of a student-expressive goal for the school (61% vs 70%) than are French-speaking teachers.

Table 5.10 presents data on the relationship between teachers' conceptions of the goals of the school and their propensity to discuss politics with the students. It appears that:

- (a) Teachers who stress a student-expressive goal for the school discuss politics more often (52% and 62%) than those who do not (43% and 56%). The relationship is however statistically significant only in the case of French-speaking teachers, but the results for the English-speaking teachers group tend to be similar to those for the French-

TABLE 5.9

Conception teachers have of the goals of
the school, by school language

Conception of the goals of the school	French-speaking 1	English-speaking 2
A. Student-instrumental goal		
The role of the school is to offer students guidance in the choice of a career and to provide the kind of courses that will enable them to enter those sectors where the need for manpower is greatest (1)		
agree	80	72
disagree	—	28
	(1233)	(348)
B. Student-expressive goal		
Whatever the student's level of ability, he should be offered a program of study in high school that is designed to develop his personality rather than to train him for a given occupation (2)		
agree	70	61
disagree	30	39
	(1208)	(337)

1 $\chi^2 = 9.54$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.08$.

2 $\chi^2 = 9.71$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.08$.

TABLE 5.10

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by conception of the goals of the schools and by school language

Conception of the goals of the school*	French-speaking	English-speaking
A. Student-instrumental goal		
agree	48 (900)	56 (224)
disagree	52 (221) ¹	70 (86) ²
B. Student-expressive goal		
agree	52 (792)	62 (183)
disagree	43 (333) ³	56 (119) ⁴

* Same indicators as in Table 5.9.

1 $\chi^2 = 0.87$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.35$, $\phi = 0.03$.

2 $\chi^2 = 4.15$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.05$, $\phi = 0.12$.

3 $\chi^2 = 7.16$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.08$.

4 $\chi^2 = 0.88$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.36$, $\phi = 0.03$.

speaking teachers.

- (b) Teachers who stress a student-instrumental goal for the school discuss politics with the students less often (48% and 56%), as expected, than those who do not (52% and 70%). In this case however, the difference is statistically significant only among English-speaking teachers.

Thus, our hypothesis concerning the association between the conception teachers have of the goals of the school and their propensity to discuss politics is partly confirmed. French-speaking teachers who stress student-expressive goals discuss politics more often than those

who do not, and English-speaking teachers who stress student-instrumental goals discuss politics less often than those who do. The relationship does not appear to be as strong as in the case of teachers' political orientations and values, but it nevertheless tends to be confirmed by our results.

In our attempt to reconstitute the configuration of the teacher political and educational orientations associated with the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, we wonder whether teacher political orientations (defined in terms of liberalism-conservatism) are not associated with the conception teachers have of the school. We will carry out this analysis with French-speaking teachers only, and consequently only in the case of the "student-expressive" school goal. The reason is that only this conception of the school goal is associated with the propensity of French-speaking teachers to discuss politics.

Are French-speaking liberal teachers more in favor of the "student-expressive" school goal than are French speaking conservative teachers? Table 5.11 confirms that they are. Liberal teachers tend to stress the "student-expressive" school goal more than do conservative teachers (75% vs 66%).

Could these results mean that the relationship we have found between the propensity of teachers to discuss politics and their conception of the school is spurious? Is the effect of conception of the school on teachers' political discussion independent from teachers' political orientations? Or does liberalism on the part of teachers just reinforce their propensity to discuss politics? Table 5.12 presents the data on the relations between teacher liberalism, the conception teachers have of

TABLE 5.11

French-speaking teachers' conception of school goal (student-expressive), by teacher liberalism-conservatism

Student-expressive goal (1)*	Index of liberalism-conservatism	
	High (liberalism)	Low (conservatism)
agree	75	66
disagree	25	34
	(512)	(587)

*Same indicator as in Table 5.9.

1 $\chi^2 = 12.09$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.05$, $\phi = 0.11$.

TABLE 5.12

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by the conception teacher have of the school goal and by teacher liberalism-conservatism

Student-expressive goal*	Index of liberalism-conservatism	
	High (1) (liberalism)	Low (2) (conservatism)
agree	59 (356)	46 (360)
disagree	51 (117)	39 (193)

*Same indicator as in Table 5.9.

1 $\chi^2 = 1.83$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.18$, $\phi = 0.07$.

2 $\chi^2 = 2.21$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.13$, $\phi = 0.07$.

the school (student-expressive) and their propensity to discuss politics, for French-speaking teachers only. It appears that teachers who stress the student-expressive goal still discuss politics more often (59% and 46%) than those who do not (51% and 39%), even when teacher liberalism or conservatism is controlled. Though the differences in percentage are statistically significant only at a lower level of significance than the level we had defined as acceptable in Chapter 3, we are inclined to accept them as significant because they tend to confirm our hypothesis for which we provided a rationale. This means that the effect of the conception teachers have of school goals (student-expressive) on their propensity to discuss politics is independent from that of their political orientations.

The second dimension of the configuration of educational orientations with which we want to examine the association with the propensity of teachers to discuss politics refers to teachers' orientations as professionals within the school system. The reason we want to explore this association lies in the fact that the attempt of teachers to achieve a professional status within the school organization is one of the major characteristics of the school system (Bidwell, 1965). In addition, the attempt of teachers to assert their professional status may have an effect on both the way they define their role as teachers and how they actually tend to behave within the school organization.

Corwin (1965) has pointed out the dilemmas and conflicts teachers face as professional employees in a bureaucratic organization. He has developed a typology of professional and bureaucratic employee roles. In the typology the author contrasts the professional and the bureaucratic

modes of organization from three separate criteria: the degree of standardization, the amount of specialization, and the amount of authority permitted.

It has not been possible - and perhaps it would not have been relevant - to measure the association of these three dimensions of the professional mode of organization with the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students. Our data allow us however to explore the association between the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school, and their behavior in regard to political discussion. In our view, their propensity to claim greater participation in the decision-making process is an indicator of their attempt to assert their authority as professionals, mainly at the expense of school administrators, and, to a lesser extent, parents and school trustees.

As Corwin (1985) points out,

"The process of professionalizing a publicly supported vocation like teaching is necessarily militant. A vocation will normally have increased its control mainly at the expense of those groups which have traditionally exercised control over the vocation. In the case of the public education this means that in order for the teachers to professionalize they must take power from lay boards of control and from the entrenched administrators appointed by these boards" (p. 223).

In this perspective, the propensity of teachers to claim greater participation in the decision-making process in the school may be interpreted as an indicator of a dimension of the professionalization process.

This variable was measured by asking teachers whether they consider the teaching staff to have too much, too little or just the right amount

of power in the following areas: formation of general school policy, implementation of teaching policy in the school, choice of programs to be offered by the school, allocation of funds to the various school services, formulation and application of school rules, and initiation and organization of extra-curricular activities. An index has been built from these indicators.⁵

Our hypothesis is that teachers who tend to claim greater participation in the decision-making process are more likely to discuss politics with the students than those who do not. The hypothesis is based on the assumption that teachers who claim greater participation in the decision-making process tend to identify with the professional mode of organization, to assert their authority as professionals, to be less afraid of being sanctioned by school administrators and parents, to feel more secure about conducting the classroom affairs as they think they should be conducted, and in the case of discussion of controversial political topics, to discuss politics with the students.

Table 5.13 shows that French-speaking teachers do not significantly differ from English-speaking teachers in regard to their propensity to claim greater participation in the decision-making process in the school. 50% and 49% of French-speaking and English-speaking teachers, respectively, scored high on the index. This is rather surprising because French-speaking teachers' unions are perceived in the public as being much more militant than English-speaking teachers' unions in regard to these matters.

5. For a detailed description of the index of the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school, see Chapter 3.

Table 5.13

Frequency of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process, by school language

Index of the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process (1)	French-speaking	English-speaking
	1	1
High	54	49
Low	40	51
	(1157)	(1118)

1. $\chi^2 = 1.41$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.11$, $\phi = 0.06$.

Table 5.14 presents data on the association between teachers' political discussion with the students and the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school. Our hypothesis has not been confirmed. Far from discussing politics more often with the students, teachers who claim greater power in the decision-making process (40% and 10%) discuss politics less often with the students than those who do not (54% and 64%). The difference is statistically significant among French-speaking teachers, not only among the English-speaking teachers. However the results for English-speaking teachers tend to be similar to those for French-speaking teachers. This is an unexpected finding, and means that this dimension of teacher professionalism, as measured by the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school, and thus to assert their professional authority, is not part of the configuration of educational orientation

TABLE 5.14

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process and by school language

Index of the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (2)
High	46 (595)	59 (145)
Low	54 (511)	64 (154)

1 $\chi^2 = 5.47$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.07$.

2 $\chi^2 = 0.59$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.44$, $\phi = 0.05$.

we had hypothesized to be associated with the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students.

We are wondering whether our measure of the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school has not been perceived by teachers as a measure of dissatisfaction. Perhaps the formulation of the question measuring this variable may have led the respondents answering the question to express their dissatisfaction with the way decisions are made in the school system rather than with their will to assert their authority as professionals. We are thus inclined to reinterpret the results as indicative of teacher dissatisfaction, for the following reasons:

- (a) A teacher who is dissatisfied with the way decisions are made in the school may not be inclined to become involved in political discussions with the students, since political discussions suppose a certain commitment or "investment" in the teacher-pupil relationship

- which he may not be inclined to make because he is dissatisfied;
- (b) According to Zeigler (1967), dissatisfaction among teachers tends to be associated with conservatism. Now we are able to confirm that our measure of the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process is associated with teacher conservatism among French-speaking teachers. Table 5.15 shows that conservative teachers (58%) tend to claim greater power in the decision-making process (or in our new interpretation to be more dissatisfied) than liberal teachers (49%). Moreover, as shown in Table 5.16, the relation between teachers' political discussion and the propensity of teachers to claim greater power disappears for the conservative teachers when we control on the index of teacher liberalism-conservatism, and is accentuated for the liberal teachers who discuss politics more often when they claim less power in the decision-making process (or are less dissatisfied). This means that

TABLE 5.15

French-speaking teachers' propensity to claim greater power in the decision-making process, by teacher liberalism-conservatism

Index of the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process	Index of liberalism-conservatism (1)	
	High (liberalism) %	Low (conservatism) %
High	49	58
Low	51	42
	(495)	(568)

1 $\chi^2 = 0.32$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.09$.

TABLE 5.16

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process, and teacher liberalism-conservatism

Index of the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process	Index of liberalism-conservatism	
	High (1) (liberalism)	Low (2) (conservatism)
High	50 (227)	45 (314)
Low	64 (244)	43 (232)

1 $\chi^2 = 0.07$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.80$, $\phi = 0.14$.

2 $\chi^2 = 0.07$ with 1 d.f., $p = 0.79$, $\phi = 0.01$.

teachers who claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school (or are more dissatisfied) discuss politics less often with the students because they are conservative. As far as liberal teachers are concerned, the less they claim greater power or the less they are dissatisfied, the more likely they are to discuss politics with the students.

The results presented above confirm the hypothesis that the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students is part of a configuration of political and educational orientations. The summary of these results is shown in Figure 3.

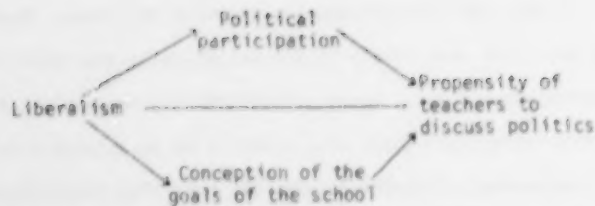


Figure 3: Relationships of teachers' political and educational orientations to propensity of teachers to discuss politics (French-speaking teachers)

This analysis has shown that even though teacher identification with a political party has no effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, teachers do discuss politics more often with the students when they participate to a high degree in politics and are liberal. Moreover, teacher political participation is associated with teacher liberalism in the case of French-speaking teachers. But it appears that teacher political participation has a stronger effect than teacher liberalism. This is reflected both in the greater Phi coefficients (0.25 vs 0.14), and in the fact that the effect of liberalism is conditional upon teacher political participation. Liberal teachers discuss politics more often only if they have a high degree of political participation.

The effect of educational orientations is not as definite as that of political orientations. In regard to the conception teachers have of the goals of the school, the results tend to confirm that this variable is associated with the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, in the following way: French-speaking teachers who stress student-expressive goals are more likely to discuss politics than those who do not (Phi

coefficient = 0.08), and English-speaking teachers who stress student-instrumental goals are less likely to discuss politics than those who do not (phi coefficient = 0.12). Among French-speaking teachers, conception of the "student-expressive" goals also tends to be associated with teacher political orientations: liberal teachers are more likely to stress student-expressive goals than are conservative teachers, and both variables have a simultaneous and independent effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students, and reinforce each other.

Our hypothesis in regard to the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school, and to assert their authority as professionals, has been not confirmed, however. But this is not to say that teachers' orientations as professionals were not associated with teachers' political discussions. Rather, we suggested that perhaps our index of the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school was not a good measure of the dimension of professionalism of which we wanted to assess the effect on teachers' political discussion, and might instead be interpreted as a measure of teacher dissatisfaction with the decision-making process within the school system. We found, in exploring this perspective, that teacher dissatisfaction might have a negative effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, and that their dissatisfaction was associated with their conservatism.

CHAPTER 6

VARIABLES RELATED TO THE TEACHER'S NETWORK OF INTERACTION

The four variables related to the teachers' network of interaction of which we want to assess the effect on the teachers' role as agents of political socialization are the following: expectations of members of the teachers' role-set (colleagues, principal, students, parents), perceived negative sanctions in regard to political discussion with students, role conflict and opportunities for political discussions.

The reader will recall that our general hypothesis with respect to the effects of these situational elements on teacher behavior lies in the following assumptions: (a) the behavior of teachers as agents of political socialization is not conditioned only by political and educational orientations, their social and occupational backgrounds, and the community and organizational characteristics where they teach. It is also influenced by the immediate network of interactions in which they have to perform their role. Teachers attach importance to the opinion of members of the role-set with whom they interact, desire to achieve a favorable self-image by winning approval from others, and seek to maximize favorable evaluation from others. In this perspective, they may be influenced by the expectations of others, the sanctions they perceive and the role conflict they experience with respect to their role as agents

of political socialization; (b) although influenced by the normative orientations to which others expect them to conform, they are not "mechanically" conditioned by culturally patterned expectations and sanctions, as the "normative paradigm" would tend to assume. Their behavior may also be influenced by situational inducements, constraints and opportunities independent of culturally patterned expectations and sanctions, elements of which the "interpretive paradigm" is more likely to take into account in its explanation of behavior than is the "normative paradigm".

Have the expectations of teachers' "significant others" as important an effect on the teachers' role as agents of political socialization as role theory would suggest? Do teachers perceive sanctions against political discussion with students? Which groups do they perceive these sanctions as originating from? Do these sanctions have an effect on their propensity to discuss politics? To what extent do teachers experience role conflict in regard to political discussion? If they do, what effect does it have on their behavior? Do situational inducements or opportunities for political discussions (such as teaching subjects which lend themselves more easily to political discussion than others or teaching older students in secondary III, IV and V) have an effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students?

6.1. Expectations of members of the teachers' role-set

The significant others whose expectations we have chosen to assess the effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics are colleagues, students, the principal and parents. Do teachers discuss

politics more often than their colleagues, students, the principal and parents actually expect them to?

We have operationalized the "role expectations" variables in the following way. In the case of parents, students and colleagues, the "role expectations" variables refer to the percentage of parents, students and colleagues who, in the school where the teacher works, are actually in favor of political discussions with the students.¹ The school score represents the percentage of parents, students, or colleagues who expect teachers to discuss political affairs with the students. The school score (in percentage) for each of the three variables has been attributed to all the teachers of the same school. The teachers have then been grouped into two categories: (a) those in schools where 50% or more of each of parents, students or colleagues expect them to discuss politics with the students; (b) those in schools where fewer than 50% of each of parents, students or colleagues expect them to discuss politics with the students.² In the case of the principal, the "role expectations" variable refers to the fact that the principal of the school where the teacher works is in favor of teachers' political discussion with the students. The teachers have been grouped into two categories: those whose principals are in favor of political discussion and those whose principals are not. The school scores have been attributed to all the teachers of the same school.

1 For the questions relating to the expectations variables, see Appendix A, question 15 b.

2 We have chosen to group teachers this way instead of using the median of the distribution because our intention was not to compare teachers in schools where more colleagues expect them to discuss politics with the students with those in schools where fewer colleagues do, but to compare teachers in a school environment where a majority of colleagues are in favor of political discussion with teachers in a school environment where a majority are not.

This way of operationalizing the "role expectations" variables calls for two comments. First, it implies that we are measuring the actual expectations of parents, colleagues, students and the principal, and not the expectations as they are perceived by teachers. One could wonder about this way of operationalizing these variables. Many assume that for the expectations to have an effect on the behavior, the incumbent of a position must actually perceive them in the course of his interactions with others. Charters (1963) points out however that "other theoretical positions on the matter are tenable and, possibly more fruitful" (p. 788). Significant others may exert an influence upon the incumbent of a position by manipulating his opportunities to perceive, or by intervening indirectly in his environment even if the latter does not know explicitly what their expectations are. We are thus justified in trying to assess the effect of the actual role expectations instead of the perceived role expectations.³

The four "role expectations" variables, operationalized the way we have done, refer to attributes of the schools, not to those of parents, teachers, students or the principal, although they have counterparts that do refer to characteristics of each of these agents. We are thus measuring what Blau (1960) calls "structural effects". These effects are not those of individual characteristics but characteristics of networks of social relations in which teachers are performing their role. This is the second comment we want to make. In this perspective, the attributes of the schools in regard to the predominant orientations of

³ This was possible because we had access to three complementary sets of data (students, parents and principals) gathered at the same time on exactly the same question.

colleagues, students, parents and the principal about teachers' political discussion with the students are clearly distinct from the individual teachers' role definition and the individual expectations of parents, students and the principal.⁴

- 4 The processing of the data, and their "translation" into school characteristics have been a particularly delicate and long operation. The main problem which we encountered in this operation is related to the fact that the percentages of parents, colleagues or students for each school, on the basis of which the "expectations" variables have been operationalized, have not been computed from the total population of each school but from samples of the schools' parents, colleagues and students. We could not necessarily assume that these percentages were representative of each school's populations of parents, colleagues and students. The problem appeared less acute however when we considered that our objective in the analysis was not to estimate for each school in particular whether the percentages of the sampled students, parents or colleagues, were representative of the schools' populations of students, parents or colleagues. Our objective is rather to measure the relationship (by correlation coefficient or contingency tables) between these series of percentages and our dependent variable. What we are interested in, is the real value which this measure (obtained through correlation coefficient or contingency tables) would have if the expected or actual values at the level of each percentage were used instead of the sampled values (which equal the actual values plus an error). In other words, we are not interested in assessing for each school in particular the error which exists between the percentages based on each school's samples and those based on each school's populations. We are interested in assessing the cumulative or total effect of the errors which exist between the estimated percentages and the actual parameters of the schools' populations. And the cumulative or total effect of the errors in estimating the percentages on such a global measure as a correlation coefficient is much smaller than the single effect of the estimation errors which exist between the percentages based on a sample and the actual parameters of the population corresponding to the sample. In this perspective, each school may be seen as "super-individuals". On the basis of the critical limit theorem and that of conditional distribution (cf. Harold Cramer, Mathematical Methods of Statistics, Princeton University Press, 6th Edition, 1954, pp. 314-316), the distribution of these "super-individuals" tends to be normal. The central parameters of this distribution tend to be the same as those of the population. There is actually a standard error of estimation but this error tends to be negligible. The effect of the cumulative errors in estimating the percentages on the global measure of correlation is the following: (a) when there is an observed correlation, the cumulative effect of the errors is to attenuate, in absolute value,

(continued on next page)

The reader will recall that in Chapter 4 we tried to delimit teachers' role definition, and the expectations of parents, students and principals in regard to teachers' political discussion with the students. As a matter of fact, we found that both teachers and parents are divided on whether it is part of the teachers' role to discuss politics with students (41% to 47% being in favor), while a majority of students and principals (around 60%) expect them to discuss politics. In this chapter we are addressing another question: what are the (structural) effects on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics of their teaching in schools where the principal, a majority of their colleagues, or a majority of students or parents are in favor of political discussion with students?

The reader will also recall that we have formulated the following hypotheses: (a) teachers in schools where the principal and a majority of colleagues, students and parents, respectively, expect them to discuss politics are more likely to have a high propensity to discuss politics with the students than teachers in schools where the principal or a majority of the others do not. (b) The effects of the parent and student expectations are more likely to be lower than those of colleagues and of principal. It is assumed that parents and students are perceived by the teachers as being of more peripheral concern than the other members

this positive or negative correlation. In this case, there is less danger to affirm the existence of a relationship between our dependant variable and the expectations variables, which would be a random correlation; (b) when there is no observed correlation, the cumulative effect on the measure of correlation could be to hide an actual correlation. Again one is on the conservative side in asserting there is no observable effect.

It is on the basis of this reasoning that we have decided to proceed with the analysis of the "expectations" variables. We wish to thank Dr. Jean-J. Fortier who provided us with the statistical rationale that helped us to solve the methodological problem related to the measure of these variables.

of the role-set, and have a lower degree of power and authority. Moreover, the teacher's behavior is less observable to parents than to the principal and to colleagues.

The data on the distribution of teachers according to these structural variables appear in Table 6.1.1 and 6.1.2: (a) most teachers (91% and 79%) work in schools where a majority of students expect them to discuss politics with them (Table 6.1.1c), but where a majority of colleagues (55% and 76%, Table 6.1.1a) and of parents (62% and 84%, Table 6.1.1b)

TABLE 6.1.1

Expectations of colleagues, parents and students in regard to teachers' political discussion, by school language

% of colleagues, parents and students in favor of teachers' political discussion	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
A. <u>Colleagues</u> (1)		
less than 50%	55	76
50% or more	45	24
	(1309)	(376)
B. <u>Parents</u> (2)		
less than 50%	62	84
50% or more	38	16
	(719)	(300)
C. <u>Students</u> (3)		
less than 50%	9	21
50% or more	91	79
	(1308)	(369)

1 $\chi^2 = 49.04$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.17$.

2 $\chi^2 = 48.42$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.22$.

3 $\chi^2 = 23.74$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.12$.

expect them not to discuss politics with students; (b) a majority of French-speaking teachers (57%) work in schools where the principal expects them to discuss politics, while a majority of English-speaking teachers (63%) work in schools where the principal expects them not to do so (Table 6.1.2).

Thus, except for the principals' expectations, the trend is the same among French-speaking and English-speaking teachers. But the proportion of French-speaking teachers who work in a school where a majority of colleagues, parents, or students expect them to discuss politics is higher than this proportion of English-speaking teachers. This means that French-speaking teachers are part of a social network in which more members of their role-set expect them to discuss politics with the students than is the case for English-speaking teachers.

These differences observed between teachers of the two language sectors are rather surprising, as we know that it is in the French-speaking

TABLE 6.1.2

Expectations of the school principal in regard to teachers' political discussion, by school language

Principal's expectations (1)	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
In favor of teachers' political discussion	57	37
Not in favor of teachers' political discussion	43	63
	(1299)	(341)

1 $\chi^2 = 0.32$, 1 d.f., $phi = 0.17$.

sector that controversies about teachers' political discussion have developed. They are also surprising for an other reason: although French-speaking teachers work in schools where more people expect them to discuss politics than do English-speaking teachers, they still discuss politics less often than English-speaking teachers. Does this mean that the expectations of the members of the role-set have no structural effect on the teachers' behavior?

Tables 6.1.3 and 6.1.4, which present the data on the relationship between the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students and the "expectations" variables, provide an answer to this question. It appears that (a) French-speaking teachers working in schools where 50% or more of their colleagues expect them to discuss politics are more likely to discuss politics (Table 6.1.3a): 57% of these teachers discuss politics with the students compared to 42% of the teachers in schools where less than half their colleagues expect them to do so ($\phi = 0.15$). The trend is the same for English-speaking teachers, but the differences between those in schools where a majority expects them to do so and those where a majority does not are not statistically significant; (b) teachers working in schools where 50% or more of the parents or students expect them to discuss politics do not discuss politics more often with students (Table 6.1.3 b and c); (c) the fact that a teacher works in a school where the principal is in favor of teachers' political discussion has an effect on the teacher's behavior in regard to political discussion with the students among French-speaking teachers only (Table 6.1.4): 6% more teachers discuss politics with the students in schools such as this than in schools where the principal does not expect them to

TABLE 6.1.3

Percentage of the teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by expectations of colleagues, parents and students in regard to teachers' political discussion and by school language

% of the colleagues, parents and students in favor of teachers' political discussion	French-speaking	English-speaking
A. Colleagues		
less than 50%	42 (633)	57 (247)
50% or more	57 (527) (1)	67 (75) (2)
B. Parents		
less than 50%	46 (388)	58 (220)
50% or more	50 (236) (3)	57 (37) (4)
C. Students		
less than 50%	47 (130)	61 (65)
50% or more	49 (1029) (5)	58 (251) (6)

1 $\chi^2 = 26.17$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.15$.

2 $\chi^2 = 1.81$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.18$, $\phi = 0.08$.

3 $\chi^2 = 0.96$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.33$, $\phi = 0.04$.

4 $\chi^2 = 0.00$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.99$, $\phi = 0.01$.

5 $\chi^2 = 0.12$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.73$, $\phi = 0.01$.

6 $\chi^2 = 0.17$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.73$, $\phi = 0.03$.

discuss politics ($\phi = 0.08$).⁵

5 We have wondered whether the results pertaining to the effects of these variables would have been the same if we had chosen ways of grouping the teachers other than the one actually used and described earlier. And we have conducted the analysis with two other ways of grouping the teachers. In the first, teachers were clustered into two groups divided at the median. In the second, teachers were clustered into three groups, each group corresponding to approximately 33% of the teachers sample. Whatever the way in which teachers are grouped, the results in regard to the effects of these variables on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics tend to be the same: the expectations of the teachers and of the principal are the only expectations variables which have an effect on teacher behavior, among French-speaking teachers only.

TABLE 6.1.4

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by expectations of the school principal in regard to political discussion and by school language

Principal's expectations	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (2)
in favor of teachers' political discussion	52 (669)	61 (108)
not in favor of teachers' political discussion	44 (482)	58 (184)

1 $\chi^2 = 6.41$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.68$.

2 $\chi^2 = 0.14$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.71$, $\phi = 0.03$.

These results only partially confirm our hypothesis. The expectations of the members of the role-set have a structural effect only in the case of the expectations of colleagues and of the principal, and among French-speaking teachers only. They also tend to confirm part of our hypothesis in regard to the relative effect of colleagues' expectations and of the principal's expectations. Moreover, these results remind us of the relative explanatory power of the expectations of the members of the role-set. We had stressed in Chapter 2, on the basis of Merton's discussion of the effects of role expectations, that we should not overestimate the effect of role expectations. Their effect, according to Merton, may be mediated or even conditioned by the differences of power and authority among the members of a role-set, by the fact that a member of a role-set may be insulated from observability on the part of the other members, and by the fact that a member may face conflicting demands and expectations originating from different members of the role-set.

Thus, our results tend to confirm the necessity of not granting the expectations variables a larger explanatory power than they actually have, and of exploring the conditions under which they are more likely to have an effect on teachers. Merton, as we have shown, has pointed to such conditions, which would have been relevant to analyze had data been available to develop the analysis with. It is permitted to speculate however from our results on two of the conditions Merton has pointed out.

As far as the condition related to the distribution of power among the members of the role-set is concerned, it is easy to recognize that the principal and teachers' colleagues may exert a greater influence on teachers, because the principal may legitimately base his pretention to do so on the administrative authority with which he is invested, and because teachers' colleagues may also base their legitimacy to do so on the "collegial" authority with which they too are invested with. The parents and the students have not as clear a basis as the principal and teachers' colleagues to claim a greater influence on teachers. As for the condition related to the isolation of teachers from the observability on the part of other members of the role-set, it appears that the teachers are much more isolated from the observability of parents than from that of the principal, colleagues and students. Because the effect of expectations may be a function of these two conditions, it is not surprising that our results indicate that colleagues' and principal's expectations have a greater effect than those of parents and students.

6.2. Perceived negative sanctions

Expectations attached to a role may be conceived as exerting a certain constraint upon the incumbent of a role. Sanctions (positive

or negative) are one of the ways a group or a collectively may of bringing the incumbent of a role to conform to the culturally patterned expectations attached to his role. Different types of sanctions (economic, social, physical, etc.) can be exerted. We are concerned here with teachers' perceptions of potential social sanctions expressed in terms of approval or disapproval of teachers' political discussion with students on the part of different groups or agents.

Do teachers perceive such sanctions? Ziegler (1966, p. 123) has pointed out that people seem particularly concerned with teachers' political values and ideologies, and their involvement in politics. We have come to see teachers as being constrained and harassed by the community or the school administration authorities, and to wonder about the true picture of the situation. To what extent are teachers under pressure from the community and school administration about their behavior as agents of political socialization? What are the effects of these pressures, if any, upon their propensity to discuss politics with students?

The reader will recall that we formulated the hypothesis in Chapter 2 that teachers are more likely to discuss politics with the students when they perceive that different groups or agents do not exert negative sanctions against discussing politics with students than when they perceive that these groups or agents do.

The variable "perceived potential sanctions in regard to teachers' political discussion with the students" has been operationalized by asking the teachers whether they think different groups or agents (parents, students, local school trustees, the principal, colleagues,

the local chamber of commerce, trade unions, the local teachers' union, the provincial teachers' union, the department of education) would approve or disapprove of a teacher discussing political affairs with students in class.⁶

Whom do teachers believe would disapprove of them discussing political affairs with the students? Table 6.2.1 shows that a majority of teachers believe that 5 of the ten groups or agents would disapprove of them discussing politics in class. These groups or agents are the school board trustees, the department of education, the parents, the principal and the local chamber of commerce. Four of these 5 groups or agents are located in the school system. This means that teachers perceive negative sanctions as originating mainly from within the school system than from the community, and more particularly from the school administration officers (the school board, the department of education, the principal) and the parents. Students and colleagues are not perceived by a majority of teachers as negative sanctioners of teachers discussing politics in class.

Zeigler (1966, p. 129) had arrived at about the same conclusion in his study of the political life of American teachers. In his study, however, more colleagues were perceived by other teachers as disapproving

6 For the question relating to the perceived negative sanctions, see Appendix A, question 20. It should be noted that the response rate per item varies from 67% to 83% according to the item, and that the mean response rate is 76%. The reasons may be that teachers did not have a clear perception of what the groups' or agents' position really was, or that they did not understand what the acronyms representing some of the groups meant. The reader should keep in mind the lower response rates on certain items while assessing the results. We do not think however that these invalidate the analysis.

TABLE 6.2.1

Percentage of teachers who believe that the following groups or agents would disapprove of them discussing political affairs with the students in class, by school language

Groups or agents (1)	French-speaking	English-speaking
Local school board trustees	92 (1042)	71 (283)
Department of education	88 (1006)	69 (266)
Parents	82 (1098)	56 (303)
Principal	73 (1046)	55 (285)
Local Chamber of commerce	67 (894)	54 (231)
Teachers' colleagues	40 (1046)	36 (291)*
Local teachers' union	30 (963)	43 (258)
Provincial teachers' union	23 (975)	31 (226)
Trade Unions (CNTU, QFL)	18 (966)	23 (238)*
Students	11 (1092)	10 (303)*

1 Significant differences in χ^2 test beyond the 5% level, except those marked by an asterisk.

of political discussion. The author emphasizes that these perceptions do not necessarily correspond to reality, and that teachers may feel themselves sanctioned by the administration where in reality the administration might merely be reflecting pressures originating from the community.

The general trend that we have just observed is the same both for French-speaking and English-speaking teachers. But on the one hand, French-speaking teachers are more likely to perceive sanctions originating from the school administration establishment and from the Chamber of

Commerce than the English-speaking teachers. On the other hand, a smaller proportion of French-speaking teachers than English-speaking teachers feel that their local and provincial unions would disapprove of them discussing politics with students. This difference might reflect the higher level of teacher militancy among French-speaking teachers' unions. Militant teachers are more likely to support teachers who depart from the traditional norm in regard to teachers' political discussion and to affirm the professional authority and autonomy of the teachers. Yet there are no statistically significant differences between French-speaking and English-speaking teachers as to perceived sanctions originating from students, the trade-unions and colleagues.

Other teachers (whether colleagues, or local or provincial union leaders) are not perceived by a majority of teachers as agents who would disapprove of them discussing politics with students, though some teachers think that other teachers would.

It is interesting to note that in the case of the perceived sanctions originating from the colleagues teachers underestimate the opposition of their colleagues to their political discussion. As a matter of fact, we showed in the first part of this chapter that 55% of French-speaking and 76% of English-speaking teachers work in schools where a majority of their colleagues actually do not expect them to discuss politics. In the same way, we can affirm that French-speaking teachers perceive more negative sanctions on the part of their principals than there actually are, as 57% of them work in schools where the principal is in favor of political discussion with students. This is not the case however among English-speaking teachers.

We now turn to the analysis of the effects of perceived sanctions on teachers' behavior. Instead of developing the analysis using the ten variables relating to approval (or disapproval) on the part of each of the various groups or agents that we have used up to now, we have chosen to construct an index of the perceived negative sanctions in regard to political discussion from 7 of the ten items with which we began this analysis.⁷ We have eliminated three items for which the number of "no answers" were the highest, because we wanted to reduce the number of teachers that would have been eliminated from the sample had a ten item scale been maintained. Despite the elimination of the three items which had the lowest response rates, the proportion of "no answers" or "missing informations" for the scale is still 33% (as opposed to 41% had the scale been computed from 10 items)⁸.

Do negative sanctions have an inhibiting effect, and positive sanctions an encouraging effect on the way teachers tend to actually behave with respect to political discussion with students? The data presented in Table 6.2.2. confirm the conclusion of our previous analysis: French-speaking teachers (46%) tend to perceive negative sanctions in a larger proportion (46%) than do English-speaking teachers (36%). Table 6.2.3 shows that the index of perceived negative sanctions is strongly associated with teachers political discussion: teachers discuss political

7 For a detailed description of the index of perceived negative sanctions in regard to political discussion, see Chapter 3.

8 The three eliminated items are those related to the perceived sanctions originating from the Chamber of Commerce, the trade unions and the Quebec teachers' union. The reader will note that the items related to perceived sanctions exerted by agents "located" outside the school system proper have been eliminated. The scale is then computed from items related to sanctions exerted by agents "located" in the school system.

TABLE 6.2.2

Teacher perception of negative sanctions in regard to
political discussion, by school language

Index of teacher perception of negative sanctions (1)	French-speaking Σ	English-speaking Σ
Low	54	64
High	46	36
	(886)	(238)

1 $\chi^2 = 7.55$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.08$.

TABLE 6.2.3

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss
politics, by teacher perception of negative sanctions
in regard to political discussion and by school language

Index of teacher perception of negative sanctions	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (2)
Low	64 (464)	76 (146)
High	36 (403)	38 (85)

1 $\chi^2 = 69.98$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.29$.

2 $\chi^2 = 31.94$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.38$.

more often with students when they perceive fewer negative sanctions (64% and 76%) than when they perceive more negative sanctions (36% and 36%). This is the independent variable for which the Phi correlation coefficients are the highest, 0.29 and 0.38 respectively for French-speaking and English-speaking teachers. These data also reveal that the effect of perceived negative sanctions is higher among English-speaking teachers, and that the differences between French-speaking and English-speaking teachers with respect to political discussion disappear among teachers who perceive a high degree of negative sanctions. This means that the differences between French-speaking and English-speaking teachers which we have observed up to now in the analysis are partly related to the fact that French-speaking teachers perceive negative sanctions in a greater proportion than do English-speaking teachers.

Thus, teachers who perceive a high degree of negative sanctions against political discussion discuss politics less often with the students. Does this mean that teachers are sensitive to negative sanctions they perceive, to the point that they are ready to disregard their own role definition in regard to political discussion when confronted with perceived sanctions that do not correspond to their role definition?

Table 6.2.4 presents data on the relationship between the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, the index of teachers' perceptions of negative sanctions and the teachers' role definition, for French-speaking teachers. It appears that pro-discussion teachers discuss politics more often with students than do anti-discussion teachers, regardless of whether they perceive a low degree or a high degree of negative sanctions. And teachers who perceive a high degree of negative

TABLE 6.2.4

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by teacher perception of negative sanctions and by teachers' role definition

Index of teacher perception of negative sanctions	Teachers' role definition	
	Pro-discussion teachers (1)	Anti-discussion teachers (2)
Low	76 (293)	43 (163)
High	56 (122)	26 (278)

1 $\chi^2 = 15.48$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.20$.

2 $\chi^2 = 11.72$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.16$.

sanctions discuss politics less often with students regardless of whether they are pro-discussion or anti-discussion. This means that both variables have an independent effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics. But the effect of role definition is stronger than that of the perceived sanctions, because the difference in percentage between the pro- and the anti-discussion teachers is about 30%, while it is about 20% between the teachers who perceive a high degree of negative sanctions and those who perceive a low one.

It also appears that pro-discussion teachers who perceive a high degree of negative sanctions discuss politics (56%) more often than anti-discussion teachers who perceive a low degree of negative sanctions (43%). Thus, when there is a discrepancy between their role definition and the negative sanctions they perceive, French-speaking teachers tend to behave in accordance with their role definition. These results reveal that although teachers are influenced by the sanctions

they perceive, they do not however react "mechanically" to negative sanctions in regard to political discussion. They do not necessarily abstain from political discussion with students when they perceive a high degree of negative sanctions. Teachers do not appear totally vulnerable to pressures that they perceive to be exerted on them. This could perhaps be interpreted as an indicator of a certain degree of autonomy.

Our analysis of teachers' perceptions of negative sanctions in regard to political discussion has shown that teachers are aware of different groups or agents exercising positive and negative sanctions (approving or disapproving of teachers' political discussion). Teachers perceive negative sanctions as originating more from within the school system than from outside it, and more particularly from the administrative establishment (the principal, the school board, the department of education) and parents than from their colleagues and students. As a matter of fact, a majority of teachers believe that their colleagues and the students would approve of them discussing politics with students. It also appears that French-speaking teachers perceive negative sanctions in a larger proportion than do English-speaking teachers, and that this might partly account for the differences between French-speaking and English-speaking teachers in regard to political discussion that we have observed from the beginning of the analysis.

The main conclusion, though, is that teachers who perceive a high degree of negative sanctions discuss politics less often with students than those who perceive fewer negative sanctions, just as we had hypothesized. Moreover, this is the variable, among all those we have analyzed, that has the strongest effect on the propensity of teachers to

discuss politics (the Phi correlation coefficients for French-speaking and English-speaking teachers are 0.29 and 0.38 respectively). Although French-speaking teachers perceive more negative sanctions than English-speaking teachers, the effect of these perceived sanctions is stronger among English-speaking than French-speaking teachers.

Moreover, although perceived sanctions have a strong effect on the behavior of teachers, their role definition in regard to political discussion still has a stronger effect on their propensity to discuss politics than do perceived sanctions. We think that this might reflect a certain degree of professional autonomy. It is permitted to conclude that the effect of perceived negative sanctions is partly counterbalanced by the teacher's own role definition and that teachers may not be as vulnerable to external pressures as it had appeared at first.

6.3. Perceived role conflict

We saw in Chapter 4 that parents, teachers, students and principals actually did not all have the same expectations in regard to teachers' political discussion with the students. Our analysis of perceived sanctions has also shown that teachers perceived different groups or agents as approving of political discussions and others as disapproving. In this context, teachers appear to be confronted with incompatible expectations, and to experience role conflict. Perceived role conflict is the third variable related to the teachers' network of interaction of which we want to assess the effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics.

The reader will recall that, according to our model of analysis, we are concerned here with intra-role conflict (conflict arising from the fact that others hold different expectations for the incumbent of a single position). Moreover, we are interested in the role conflict perceived by teachers. Our hypothesis is that teachers experiencing a high degree of role conflict are more likely to have a high propensity to discuss politics with students. It is based on the assumption that in such a situation of lack of consensus, teachers will more likely agree to "transgress" the traditional norm against political discussion, to act in accordance with their own role definition, and to respond to requests for political discussion from the students, a majority of whom, as we have seen, expect the teacher to discuss politics.

Variable role conflict was measured by asking teachers to indicate whether they think groups or agents (parents, students, the principal, colleagues at school, school board trustees, the department of education, or the local teachers' union would approve or disapprove of a teacher discussing politics with the students in class.⁹ These are the same indicators as those from which the index of perceived negative sanctions was constructed. But these indicators are used differently. A teacher has been defined as experiencing a high degree of role conflict when he perceives that there were as many groups or agents who would approve of political discussion in class as there are who would disapprove. This is the teacher who has answered that three groups or agents would approve of political discussions and that four groups or agents would disapprove, and vice-versa. A teacher has been defined as experiencing

9 See Appendix A, Question 20.

a low degree of role conflict when he perceives that a large majority of groups or agents would either approve or disapprove of political discussion in class. This is the teacher who has answered for example that 7, 6 or 5 groups or agents would approve of political discussions, that 0, 1 or 2 would disapprove, or vice-versa. In other words, the greater the difference between the number of perceived groups or agents approving of political discussion in class and the number of those disapproving, the lower the degree of role conflict, and vice-versa.¹⁰

Do teachers perceive themselves as being in a situation of role conflict in regard to political discussion? Do teachers experiencing role conflict have a higher propensity to discuss politics with students than those who do not? Table 6.3.1 shows that the proportion of French-speaking teachers who experience a high degree of role conflict is higher than it is for English-speaking teachers - a 20% difference. Table 6.3.2. illustrates the association between role conflict and the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students: teachers who experience a high degree of role conflict have, as we have hypothesized, a higher propensity to discuss politics than those who experience a low degree of role conflict - a 17% difference among French-speaking teachers (Phi correlation coefficient 0.16). The perceived role conflict has no effect however among English-speaking teachers.

¹⁰ The variable was operationalized in the following way: the difference between the number of groups or incumbents of positions who teachers believe would approve of discussing politics with the students, and the number of groups or incumbents of position who teachers believe would disapprove of them discussing politics with students, was computed. The possible score were 7, 5, 3 and 1. For the purpose of the analysis, teachers were grouped into two categories: category 1 (37% of the teachers) corresponds to the high level of perceived role conflict, and categories 3, 5 and 7 (63% of the teachers) to the low level of perceived role conflict. The respondents who did not answer the seven questions were coded as "no answer".

TABLE 6.3.1

Teachers' perceived role conflict in regard
to political discussion, by school language

Perceived role conflict (1)	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
High	41	21
Low	59 (886)	79 (238)

1 $\chi^2 = 33.70$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.16$.

TABLE 6.3.2

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to
discuss political affairs, by perceived role conflict
in regard to political discussion and by school language

Perceived role conflict	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (2)
High	61 (355)	62 (48)
Low	44 (512)	62 (183)

1 $\chi^2 = 52.36$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.16$.

2 $\chi^2 = 0.05$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.81$, $\phi = 0.00$.

Thus among French-speaking teachers at least, the consequence of role conflict in regard to political discussion is to increase their propensity to discuss politics. It is interesting to note that a teacher's experiencing of role conflict does not result in what Grace (1972) has called role retreatism. In his review of the literature on role conflict, the author (pp. 11-12) observes that role conflict has appeared to some authors as a stimulus for change and reform, while others have put emphasis on the dysfunctional effects of role conflict such as "reduction of commitment or abandonment of certain objectives by the individuals", job and career dissatisfaction, increased personal strain and anxiety, lower effectiveness. Our data do not allow us to comment on all these consequences. We may conclude however that role conflict with respect to political discussion does not result in the teachers abstaining from discussing politics with students. On the contrary, French-speaking teachers who experience role conflict have a greater likelihood of discussing politics, and English-speaking teachers who experience role conflict discuss politics with students no less often than those who do not experience role conflict.

We may also conclude from our data that it is not because they are activated by a desire to change the traditional political culture of the schools that teachers who experience role conflict in regard to political discussion discuss politics more often with students. This is reflected in data presented in Table 6.3.3 on the relationship between the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, teachers' perceived role conflict and the teachers' role definition in regard to political discussion with students. Pro-discussion teachers discuss politics with the

TABLE 6.3.3

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by perceived role conflict and by teachers' role definition

Teachers' role definition	Perceived role conflict	
	High	Low
Pro-discussion teachers (1)	72 (220)	68 (195)
Anti-discussion teachers (2)	41 (130)	29 (311)

1 $\chi^2 = 0.65$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.42$, $\phi = 0.04$.

2 $\chi^2 = 5.01$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.11$.

students more often than do anti-discussion teachers, regardless of the level of perceived role conflict (72% vs 41%, 68% vs 29%). But pro-discussion teachers do not discuss politics more often (72% vs 68%) when they perceive a high degree of role conflict than when they do not. This means that if teachers who experience role conflict discuss politics with the students more often than those who do not, this is true of anti-discussion teachers only. Thus, it is not because they are activated by a desire to change the situation in regard to their political discussion that teachers who experience role conflict discuss politics more often, since those experiencing a high degree of role conflict and who discuss politics with the students more often are precisely those who are not in favor of political discussion with students.

We would be rather inclined to think that French-speaking teachers who experience role conflict discuss political affairs with students more often than those who do not, because anti-discussion teachers

TABLE 6.3.4.

French-speaking teachers' perceptions of the propensity of students to initiate political discussion, by teachers' role definition among teachers who perceive a high degree of role conflict and discuss politics with students

Teacher perception of the propensity of students to initiate political discussion	Pro-discussion teachers %	Anti-discussion teachers %
Teacher takes the initiative more often than students do	10	11
Teacher takes the initiative as often as students do	38	21
Students take the initiative more often than teacher does	52 (181)	68 (57)

$\chi^2 = 5.49$ with 2 d.f., $p = 0.06$, Cramers' $V = 0.15$.

are more likely to be coaxed by students into discussing politics with them. The results presented in Table 6.3.4 tend to confirm this explanation: anti-discussion teachers who perceive a high degree of role conflict and who discuss politics are more likely to let the students take the initiative in political discussion (68% vs 52%) than are pro-discussion teachers (level of significance, $p = 0.06$).

Before turning to the analysis of the effects of opportunities for political discussion on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, we would like to show how the three variables, colleagues' expectations, perceived sanctions and role conflict, are interrelated. When a majority of colleagues in a school expect the teachers to discuss politics with students, teachers perceive fewer negative sanctions (Table 6.3.5a) in

TABLE 6.3.5

Perceived negative sanctions and perceived role conflict in regard to political discussion, by colleagues' expectations among French-speaking teachers (%)

	Percentage of colleagues in favor of teachers' political discussion with students	
	Less than 50%	More than 50%
A. Index of perceived negative sanctions (1)		
Low	48	60
High	52	40
	(456)	(430)
B. Perceived role conflict (2)		
Low	64	53
High	36	47
	(456)	(430)

1 $\chi^2 = 11.40$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.12$.

2 $\chi^2 = 10.62$ with 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.11$.

regard to political discussion (40% vs 52%) than when a majority of colleagues do not. This is understandable since teachers are less likely to be disapproved of by their own colleagues. But they experience (Table 6.3.5b) role conflict in a larger proportion (47% vs 36%). This is also understandable since they are more likely to feel cross-pressured if on the one hand a majority of their colleagues actually expect them to discuss politics with the students, while on the other hand most of them perceive, as we saw in the first part of this chapter, that the school establishment disapproves of political discussion with students. This means that the structural characteristics related to teachers being in schools where a majority of their colleagues expect them to discuss politics have not

only a direct effect on their propensity to discuss politics, but also influence their perception of negative sanctions and role conflict in regard to political discussions with students. Teachers discuss politics more often with students when their colleagues actually expect them to do so, and are also less likely to perceive negative sanctions and more likely to face role conflict. This structural characteristic thus determines up to a certain point the way teachers perceive sanctions exerted on them by their environment and the degree to which they feel cross-pressured by conflicting expectations in their school system environment.

It should also be pointed out (Table 6.3.6) that the more teachers perceive negative sanctions, the less likely they are to perceive role conflict or feel cross-pressured (18% vs 61%), because they are more likely to perceive that there is a consensus on not discussing politics with students.

6.4. Opportunities for political discussion

The theoretical significance of the preceding analysis is that behavior may be influenced by a set of culturally patterned expectations attached to a role, by sanctions applied for conformation or non-conformation to these expectations, and by conflicting expectations an actor may perceive concerning his role. We have also shown that the effect of these variables could vary, or even be conditioned, by the teachers' own role definition. Furthermore, we pointed out in Chapter 2 that teachers could favor political discussion with students, be reinforced in their role definition by expectations of members of the role-set.

TABLE 6.3.6

Perceived role conflict, by teacher perception of
negative sanctions among French-speaking teachers (%)

Perceived role conflict	Index of perceived negative sanctions (1)	
	Low (%)	High (%)
Low	39	81
High	61 (479)	18 (407)

1 $\chi^2 = 160.83$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.43$.

perceive a low degree of negative sanctions in regard to political discussion, and still have a low propensity to discuss politics with students. One of the reasons is that they may have fewer opportunities to discuss political affairs with students than do other teachers. In other words, the variables related to the teachers' network of interaction (perceived sanctions, expectations of colleagues, role conflict) may not have as determining an influence on teacher behavior as one might be inclined to assume. We have come to wonder whether other situational elements which we have defined in terms of opportunity for political discussion might not also be important to consider. It is in this perspective that we have come to identify the opportunities for political discussion as another situational element likely to account for the propensity of teachers to discuss politics.

The reader will recall that this orientation is based on the assumption that behavior is not entirely conditioned by culturally patterned orientations and expectations, as the normative paradigm would tend to

assume. Many critiques of this paradigm have underlined the over-importance granted to culturally patterned expectations, role definitions and sanctions, in the explanation of behavior. They have pointed to the dynamic and interpretative character of interaction, and have developed a conception of interaction, which Wilson refers to as the "interpretive paradigm" (1970). The reader will also recall that we have not tried to formulate hypotheses which would have taken into account elements of the interpretive paradigm, because the survey research methodology does not lend itself to the kind of analysis required by the theoretical position of the interpretive paradigm. But we have formulated hypotheses which are indirectly derived from this theoretical tradition in the sense that they point to the relative importance of normative orientations and of culturally patterned expectations.

We have come to identify situational elements which can be defined in terms of situational inducements, in terms of constraints and opportunities for political discussion, elements whose effects could be independent of teachers' role definition and of culturally patterned expectations and sanctions.

We have formulated the hypothesis that opportunities for political discussion with the students are likely to have an effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, an effect which is likely to be independent of the teachers' own role definition, of perceived sanctions against political discussion, and of expectations of colleagues. Two indicators of opportunities will be explored: the level of secondary school taught and the subject taught.

The level that secondary school teachers teach may for some teachers determine whether or not they have an opportunity to discuss political affairs with students. We have formulated the hypothesis that teachers teaching only the secondary 3, 4 and 5 levels are more likely to have a high propensity to discuss politics with students than are other teachers, especially those teaching only the secondary 1 and 2 levels. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that teachers teaching secondary 3, 4 and 5 students teach older and more mature students whose degree of political information and interest increases with age, particularly during pre-adolescence and adolescence. It is for this reason that the amount of time spent teaching at different secondary school levels may be conceptualized as an opportunity for teachers to discuss politics with the students: on the one hand teachers may think that it is more acceptable to discuss politics with older students; on the other hand, older students may be more likely to encourage teachers to discuss politics with them.

Three categories of teachers have been defined:¹¹ (a) those teaching secondary 1 and 2 exclusively, (b) those who spend only part of their time teaching secondary 3, 4 and 5, and (c) those who teach secondary 3, 4 and 5 exclusively. Table 6.4.1 indicates that French-speaking teachers tend to teach secondary 1 and 2 exclusively in a much greater proportion (58%) than do English-speaking teachers (33%), who for their part are distributed about equally over the three categories of teachers. This means that French-speaking teachers actually have fewer opportunities to work with a more mature student population, and perhaps to discuss politics with the students, than do English-speaking teachers.

¹¹ For the question relating to secondary school level, see Appendix A, question 6.

TABLE 6.4.1

High school levels taught by teachers,
by school language

Secondary school level taught	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
Secondary 1 and 2 exclusively	58	33
Secondary 1 to 5	16	36
Secondary 3, 4 and 5 exclusively	26	31
	(1231)	(328)

$\chi^2 = 79.52$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.23$.

Does the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students increase with the secondary school level that teachers teach? Table 6.4.2 shows the relationship between the propensity of teachers to discuss politics and the secondary school level at which teachers teach. It appears that the hypothesis is confirmed: those teaching secondary 1 and 2 students exclusively (44% vs 58%) discuss politics with students less often than those who teach secondary 3, 4 and 5 students (58% and 65%). The differences in percentages among English-speaking teachers are not statistically significant. These results indicate that, if teaching the secondary 3, 4 and 5 levels (i.e. more mature students) may be defined as an opportunity for political discussion, teachers have a greater propensity to discuss politics when they are placed in a situation where such an opportunity exists.

Opportunities for teachers to discuss politics with students may also vary with the subject taught. Some subjects lend themselves

TABLE 6.4.2

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity of discuss political affairs, by high school levels taught and by school language

Secondary school level taught	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (2)
Secondary 1 and 2 exclusively	44 (630)	56 (97)
Secondary 1 - 5	50 (183)	58 (101)
Secondary 3, 4, 5 exclusively	58 (290)	65 (291)

1 $\chi^2 = 16.08$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.12$.

2 $\chi^2 = 1.71$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.42$, Cramer's $V = 0.08$.

more easily to political discussions and offer teachers and students more opportunities for political discussions than others. This is why we have come to think of the teaching of certain subjects as opportunities for teachers to discuss politics with the students.

Teachers were asked to indicate which subject they spend most time teaching.¹² The different subjects were grouped in the following way: languages and social studies (history and geography), and other subjects.

The reader will recall that we had formulated the following hypothesis: teachers of social studies and languages are more likely to have a high propensity to discuss politics than teachers teaching other subjects. It is easily understandable that teachers of social studies have more opportunities to discuss politics with students. Geography and history are two subjects which focus on elements of knowledge and problems which often have or could have political significance.

¹² For the question relating to subjects, see Appendix A, Question 7.

As far as language teachers are concerned, our hypothesis is based upon the following assumption: languages are basic subjects characterized by a high level of abstraction, the necessity of developing verbal ability, and by the fact that their goals are stated in general terms. In this pedagogical context, language teachers may have more opportunities to explore themes and questions which lend themselves to political discussion than do science and vocational training teachers.

The data on the distribution of teachers by subject taught appear in Table 6.4.3. They show that there are no differences between French-speaking and English-speaking teachers in the distribution of teachers by subjects: 42 to 47% of teachers teach social studies and languages, while 48 to 52% teach other subject matters. This means that French-speaking teachers and English-speaking teachers share equally this opportunity to discuss politics with students, contrary to what had been observed with the indicator focusing on the secondary school level taught by teachers.

Table 6.4.4 provides support for our hypothesis in regard to both French-speaking and English-speaking teachers. Teachers of social studies and languages (54% to 70%) are more likely to have a high propensity to discuss politics than teachers of other subjects. This means that if the subject taught also is a good indicator of teachers' opportunities for political discussion, their propensity to discuss politics increases with the opportunities they have to teach subjects that lend themselves more easily to political discussions.

We know however that in the past the school level and the subjects taught were associated with the duration of teacher training (Harvey, 1972).

TABLE 6.4.3

Subjects taught, by school language

Subjects (1)	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
Social studies and languages	42	47
Other subjects	48 (1228)	53 (337)

1 $\chi^2 = 3.18$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.07$, $\phi = 0.04$.

TABLE 6.4.4

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss political affairs, by the subject taught and by school language

Subjects (1)	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (2)
Social studies and languages	54 (406)	70 (138)
Other subjects	44 (635)	49 (161)

1 $\chi^2 = 11.48$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.10$.2 $\chi^2 = 12.04$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.21$.

More "qualified" teachers (in terms of years of schooling) were more likely to teach higher levels in the public school system. The duration of training varied with the subject taught. We could thus wonder whether it is because the secondary school level and the subjects taught really are opportunities for political discussion, or because teachers who teach higher levels or certain subjects are more qualified that the secondary level and the subjects taught affect the propensity of teachers to discuss politics.

TABLE 6.4.5

Secondary school levels and subjects taught, by duration
of training among French-speaking teachers

	14 years or less %	15 or 16 years %	17 years or more %
A. Secondary school level (1)			
Secondary I and II exclusively	71	63	31
Secondary I to V	18	14	20
Secondary III, IV and V	11	23	49
	(286)	(649)	(274)
B. Subject (2)			
Social studies and languages	40	42	42
Other subjects	60	58	58
	(302)	(637)	(268)

1 $\chi^2 = 131.31$, 4 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.23$.

2 $\chi^2 = 0.52$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.77$, Cramer's $V = 0.02$.

Table 6.4.5.a shows that the more "qualified" teachers (in terms of years schooling)¹³ actually are more likely to teach secondary school levels 3, 4 and 5, i.e. to teach older students, and, in our interpretation, to have more opportunities to discuss politics than the less "qualified" teachers. Table 6.4.5b shows however that the more qualified teachers are no more likely to teach social studies and languages than the less qualified teachers. Thus, although teachers of social studies and languages discuss politics more often with students than other teachers, it cannot be because they are more "qualified". We are justified, however,

13 For the question relating to the duration of teacher training, see Appendix A, question 3.

in controlling the relationship between the secondary school level and the propensity of teachers to discuss politics on the duration of teacher training.

It appears in Table 6.4.6 that the relationship between the propensity of teachers to discuss politics and the secondary school level disappears in the case of less "qualified" teachers (14 years' schooling or less) and of more qualified teachers (17 years' schooling or more), but tends to be maintained in the case of teachers with 15 or 16 years' schooling (level of significance 0.07 in this case however). This means that, for teachers to take advantage of the opportunity of teaching older students they must be neither among the less qualified, because these would not discuss politics, nor among the more qualified because these would do so anyway. The effect of this opportunity to teach older students appears conditional upon the teacher's level of qualification.

TABLE 6.4.6

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by secondary school level and by duration of training

Duration of training	Secondary school level		
	Secondary I and II exclusively	Secondary I to V	Secondary III, IV and V exclusively
14 years or less (1)	38 (183)	37 (46)	31 (29)
15 or 16 years (2)	45 (366)	50 (84)	56 (134)
17 years or more (3)	56 (78)	62 (50)	67 (123)

1 $\chi^2 = 0.56$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.75$, Cramer's $V = 0.05$.

2 $\chi^2 = 5.21$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.07$, Cramer's $V = 0.09$.

3 $\chi^2 = 2.53$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.28$, Cramer's $V = 0.10$.

We have also controlled the relationship between the subject taught and the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students on the duration of teacher training to see whether the effect of the subject taught could be conditional on the duration of teacher training. Table 6.4.7 shows that the relationship between the opportunity to teach subjects which themselves lend more easily to political discussion and the propensity of teachers to discuss politics disappears among less qualified teachers (14 years' schooling or less) but tends to be maintained among those with 15 years' schooling or more. This means that, for the teachers to really take advantage of the opportunity of teaching subjects which lend themselves more easily to political discussion, they cannot be among the less qualified teachers. The effect of the opportunity of teaching certain subjects also appears conditional on the teacher's level of qualifications.

Because teacher training, as we saw in Chapter 5, is also associated with levels of teacher liberalism and political participation, we have also controlled the relationship between propensity of teachers to discuss politics and our two indicators of opportunities for political discussion (secondary school level and subjects taught) on these two political orientations. And we found (Tables 6.4.8 and 6.4.9) that teachers really take advantage of the opportunity to teach older students in order to discuss politics with students more often only if they are liberal and score low on the index of political participation. They will also take advantage of the opportunity to teach subjects which lend themselves more easily to political discussion in order to discuss more politics with students whether they are liberal or not, but not if they

TABLE 6.4.7

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by subject taught and duration of training

Duration of training	Social studies and languages	Other subjects
14 years or less (1)	39 (108)	35 (164)
15-16 years (2)	54 (242)	43 (327)
17 years more (3)	70 (108)	55 (138)

1 $\chi^2 = 0.21$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.64$, $\phi = 0.04$.

2 $\chi^2 = 5.90$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.10$.

3 $\chi^2 = 6.00$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.16$.

TABLE 6.4.8

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by secondary school level, and by teacher liberalism-conservatism and political participation

	Secondary school level		
	Secondary I and II exclusively	Secondary I to V	Secondary III, IV and V exclusively
A. Index of liberalism-conservatism			
- conservatism (1)	41 (333)	45 (83)	50 (125)
- liberalism (2)	50 (228)	57 (84)	67 (144)
B. Political participation			
- Low (3)	34 (349)	41 (98)	46 (141)
- High (4)	59 (239)	62 (72)	71 (136)

1 $\chi^2 = 3.41$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.18$, Cramer's $V = 0.08$

2 $\chi^2 = 9.48$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.14$.

3 $\chi^2 = 6.50$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.11$.

4 $\chi^2 = 5.69$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.06$, Cramer's $V = 0.11$.

TABLE 6.4.9

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by subject taught, and by teacher liberalism-conservatism and political participation

	Social studies and languages	Other subjects
A. Index of liberalism-conservatism		
- conservatism (1)	49 (227)	38 (314)
- liberalism (2)	62 (182)	51 (274)
B. Political participation		
- low (3)	44 (230)	33 (359)
- high (4)	65 (204)	61 (242)

1 $\chi^2 = 5.84$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.11$.

2 $\chi^2 = 4.91$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.10$.

3 $\chi^2 = 7.41$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.10$.

4 $\chi^2 = 0.45$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.50$, $\phi = 0.09$.

score high on the index of political participation. This means that they do not need to have this opportunity if they are actively involved in politics. Thus the effects of the opportunities for political discussion appear also conditional on teachers' political orientations.

Finally, we would like to find out whether the effect of the opportunities for political discussion is independent of that of the teachers' role definition and of the variables related to the teachers' network of interaction (teachers' perceptions of negative sanctions and colleagues' expectations). The reason we want to control the relationship between opportunities for political discussion and the propensity of teachers to discuss politics on these variables is that we want to

determine the theoretical status of our "opportunities for political discussion" variables. To what extent do situational inducements (opportunities for political discussion) have an effect on teacher behavior, independent (as we have hypothesized) of teachers' normative orientations (role definition) and of culturally patterned expectations and sanctions?

Table 6.4.10 shows that the effect of the opportunity to teach older students (secondary 3, 4, 5) on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics is maintained among pro-discussion teachers, among teachers in schools where a majority of colleagues does not expect them to discuss politics, and whether or not they perceive a high degree of negative sanctions in regard to political discussion, but disappears in the case of the anti-discussion teachers and teachers in schools where their colleagues expect them to discuss politics. This means that teachers teaching older students will take advantage of this opportunity to discuss politics more often with students only if they are pro-discussion and if they are in a school where a majority of their colleagues do not expect them to discuss politics. They are more likely to take advantage of the opportunity to teach older students in order to discuss politics more often when they are not actually supported by their colleagues.

Table 6.4.11 also shows that the effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics of the opportunity to teach subjects which lend themselves more easily than others to political discussion is maintained, whether teachers are pro-discussion or anti-discussion, whether or not they are in schools where a majority of their colleagues expect them to discuss politics, and when they perceive a low degree of negative sanctions. It appears however that the teaching of subjects

TABLE 6.4.10

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics with students, by secondary school level, by teachers' role definition, perceived negative sanctions and by colleagues' expectations

	Secondary I and II exclu- sively	Secondary I to V	Secondary III, IV and V ex- clusively
A. Teachers' role definition			
pro-discussion (1)	64 (263)	65 (98)	79 (137)
anti-discussion (2)	29 (357)	32 (80)	39 (584)
B. Index of perceived negative sanctions			
low (3)	61 (246)	57 (70)	74 (125)
high (4)	30 (222)	46 (70)	41 (97)
C. Colleagues' expectations			
-schools where less than 50% are pro-discussion (5)	38 (370)	39 (79)	53 (150)
-schools where 50% or more are pro-discussion (6)	53 (260)	59 (104)	64 (140)

1 $\chi^2 = 9.30$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.14$.

2 $\chi^2 = 4.46$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.11$, Cramer's $V = 0.09$.

3 $\chi^2 = 8.04$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.14$.

4 $\chi^2 = 7.81$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.14$.

5 $\chi^2 = 10.46$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.13$.

6 $\chi^2 = 4.55$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.10$, Cramer's $V = 0.09$.

which lend themselves more easily to political discussions has no effect when teachers perceive a high degree of negative sanctions. This means that the effect of the subject taught (or of the opportunity to teach subjects which lend themselves more easily than others to political discussion) is conditional upon the fact that teachers perceive a low degree of negative sanctions in regard to political discussion.

TABLE 6.4.11

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by the subject taught, by teachers' role definition, by perceived negative sanctions, and by colleagues' expectations

	Social sciences and languages	Other subjects
A. Teachers' role definition		
pro-discussion (1)	72 (269)	64 (283)
anti-discussion (2)	38 (244)	28 (343)
B. Index of perceived negative sanctions		
low (3)	72 (183)	58 (255)
high (4)	38 (165)	33 (222)
C. Colleagues' expectations		
schools where less than 50% are pro-discussion (5)	47 (248)	37 (350)
schools where 50% or more are pro-discussion (6)	62 (218)	52 (503)

1 $\chi^2 = 3.76$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.05$, $\phi = 0.09$.

2 $\chi^2 = 6.12$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.11$.

3 $\chi^2 = 8.11$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.14$.

4 $\chi^2 = 0.94$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.33$, $\phi = 0.05$.

5 $\chi^2 = 5.62$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.10$.

6 $\chi^2 = 5.49$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.10$.

Thus, it follows from this analysis that opportunities to discuss politics have an effect on the behavior of teachers in regard to political discussion. The effect of these opportunities may be conditional, depending on the type of opportunity, upon their political orientations or political participation, their occupational backgrounds (the duration of their training), the sanctions they perceive, their role definition and

the expectations of their colleagues. But these opportunities have an effect even if teachers are pro-discussion, perceive fewer negative sanctions or are in schools where a majority of their colleagues expect them to discuss politics. These results only partially confirm the theoretical status which we had assigned to the "opportunities for political discussion" variables in our model of analysis. The effects of these opportunities on teacher behavior are not totally independent of the culturally patterned expectations and sanctions attached to the teacher's role in regard to political discussion. Teachers do not take advantage of the opportunity to teach social studies and language when they perceive a high degree of negative sanctions, nor of the opportunity to teach older students when a majority of their colleagues expect them to do so. This means that the effects of opportunities are partly conditioned by those of the culturally patterned expectations and sanctions they perceive in their milieu.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have tried to show that the behavior of teachers as agents of political socialization is influenced by the network of interaction (expectations of members of the role-set, perceived negative sanctions, role conflict) and by situational inducements which we have defined in terms of opportunities for political discussions. The summary of the results appears in Figure 4.

Teachers discuss politics more often when they work in a school where a majority of their colleagues and the principal expect them to discuss politics. It appears, however, that the expectations of colleagues and of the principal have a structural effect only among French-speaking

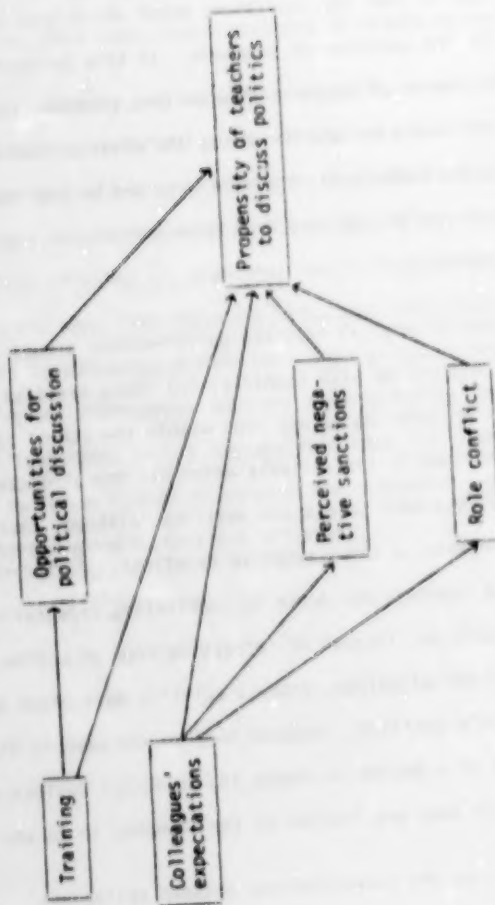


Figure 4: Relationships between the variables related to teacher's network of interaction, the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, and other independent variables (French-speaking teachers).

teachers, and that the expectations of students and parents have no such structural effect. These results have led us to conclude that our expectations variables have a relative explanatory power. They have also led us to qualify their effect and to look for conditions under which they are more likely to account for the behavior of teachers. In this perspective, we have shown, from a discussion of Merton's view on this problem, that the effects of expectations could be conditioned by the distribution of power and authority among the members of the role-set, and by the fact that a member of a role-set may be isolated from observability on the part of other members of the role-set.

It has also appeared that (a) teachers perceive many groups as disapproving of political discussion with students, (b) these negative sanctions are perceived as originating mainly from within the school system, (c) perceived negative sanctions is the variable which has the strongest effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, although teachers do not appear totally vulnerable to these negative sanctions. Furthermore, the analysis has shown that teachers who perceive conflicting expectations in regard to political discussion, instead of retreating from an active role as agents of political socialization, discuss politics more often than those who do not perceive role conflict. However they do not seem to discuss politics more often because of a desire to change the political culture of the school but rather because they are invited by the students to do so.

We have also explored the interrelations between colleagues' expectations and teachers' perceived role conflicts and sanctions. For teachers to work in a school where a majority of their colleagues expect them to discuss politics has an effect on the very way teachers perceive

negative sanctions and experience role conflict: they perceive fewer negative sanctions, but tend to experience role conflict to a greater degree. In the same way, teachers who perceive a high degree of negative sanctions feel less cross-pressured in regard to political discussion.

Finally, we have shown that situational elements other than role expectations perceived sanctions and role conflict in regard to political discussion could have an effect on teachers as agents of political socialization. Teachers discuss politics more often when they have more opportunities of doing so, when they teach older students in secondary 3, 4 and 5 and when they teach subjects that lend themselves more easily than others to political discussion. This analysis has lead us to specify the conditions under which teachers tend to really take advantage of these opportunities. But it has not confirmed that the effects of the opportunities for political discussion are independent of those of culturally patterned expectations and sanctions.

CHAPTER 7

TEACHERS' SOCIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUNDS

Does the training of teachers have an effect upon their propensity to discuss politics? Do teachers discuss politics with students more often when they have had a longer training? Do more experienced teachers discuss politics more frequently than less experienced teachers? Do teachers' socio-economic backgrounds have an effect upon their behavior in regard to political discussion with the students? Do these variables related to teachers' social and occupational backgrounds also have an effect, as we have hypothesized, on political and educational orientations? In other words, to what extent do teachers' social and occupational backgrounds shape their role as agents of political socialization? The problem consists mainly in assessing whether teachers' socialization to the teaching profession either during their formal training immediately before entering the profession or since they entered the profession, or their socialization before choosing teaching as a profession, have an effect on their propensity to discuss politics with students or on the political and educational orientations associated with teachers' political discussions.

7.1. Teachers' socio-economic backgrounds

Research on the effects of teachers' socio-economic backgrounds on their role is based on these assumptions: (a) persons of different

social backgrounds enter the teaching profession through a process of selective recruitment, and (b) these persons may have been submitted before entering teaching to different socializing influences, depending on their milieu of origin. The research has tried to answer the following question: Do the different socio-economic contexts in which teachers are socialized before entering the profession or commencing their formal training have an effect on their behavior as teachers?

In his review of the literature on the effects of teachers' social backgrounds on teaching, Charters (1963) found no evidence of a positive relationship between the social backgrounds of teachers and their performance of their roles. Charters wonders whether this absence of positive findings regarding this relationship is "attributable in large part to the fact that programs of research and theoretical development have not concentrated on this problem as such" (p. 741) and whether this research is a by-product of other research movements.

In a study more directly related to the role of teachers in political socialization, Jaros (1968) has tried to empirically test the effect of teachers' social backgrounds on their transmission of the political values of the civic culture. Drawing upon Charters' conclusions, Jaros formulated the hypothesis that social backgrounds of teachers, as measured by their classes of origin and by the size of their communities of origin, have a moderate effect on the teaching of civic culture values. He also formulated the hypothesis that this effect would decrease with teaching experience, and with exposure of teachers to the influence of professional socialization to the profession. The author found no relationship between the teachers' social background variables and the teaching

of the values of the civic culture. When controlling on teaching experience, Jaros found that there was a relationship between social backgrounds and teaching of civic culture values among less experienced teachers, and that this relationship was either non-existent or reversed among more experienced teachers. The author concluded that a strong counter-socialization influence associated with teaching experience operates to reduce the effect of social background.

On the basis of the previous literature, we have formulated the hypothesis, in our model of analysis, that the social backgrounds of teachers would have only a moderate effect on their behavior with respect to political discussion with the students. Teachers' socio-economic backgrounds have been measured by the occupational status of the father.¹ The occupation of the father was coded into the categories used in the Blishen revised socio-economic index of occupations in Canada (Blishen and McRoberts, 1976). The respondents were then grouped into six categories of socio-economic status ranging from 1 (high) to 6 (low), and then again into three categories (high, medium, low).

Table 7.1.1. shows that a majority of French-speaking teachers originate from families of low socio-economic status; 56% are from the two lower socio-economic strata, while 19% and 25% respectively are from the two higher and the two middle strata. The proportion of English-speaking teachers born of parents of high socio-economic status (the two higher strata) is much higher than that of French-speaking teachers (33% vs 19%), while figures for English and French-speaking teachers

¹ For the question relating to the occupational status of the father, see Appendix A, question 4.

TABLE 7.1.1

Teachers' socio-economic status of origin, by school language

Socio-economic status of origin (1)*	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
1. High	2	4
2.	17	29
3.	11	14
4.	14	13
5.	15	14
6. Low	41	26
	(1262)	(345)

*Blishen's revised socio-economic index of occupations in Canada.

1 $\chi^2 = 43.12$, 5 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.16$.

from families of low socio-economic status (the two lower strata) are much lower (40% vs 56%).

These percentages for the socio-economic status of teachers' fathers also indicate that the selection of teaching as an occupation is for a majority of teachers an opportunity for social mobility. It is possible to measure teachers' intergenerational social mobility by comparing teachers' occupations to those of their fathers. Bendix and Lipset (1959, p. 182) have pointed out the limits of this way of measuring intergenerational social mobility. But we do not think that this methodological problem can be resolved in absolute terms. Although we would rather use a more subtle measure of intergenerational social mobility, we thought it better to assess teachers' social mobility with a measure which could be more subtle than to not assess it at all.

If we consider that according to the Blischen revised socio-economic index of occupations teaching secondary school is an occupation of the second highest stratum, it can be concluded that teachers originating from the first stratum are downwardly mobile, those from the second stratum are stationary, and that all the others are to different degrees upwardly mobile. In this perspective, few teachers, whether French-speaking (2%) or English-speaking (4%), experience downward mobility. Considerably more teachers are stationary: 17% among French-speaking and 29% among English-speaking teachers. Most teachers experience a process of social upward mobility: 81% among French-speaking and 67% among English-speaking teachers.

It appears thus that French-speaking teachers are recruited mainly from the two lower socio-economic strata of society (56%), while English-speaking teachers are recruited mainly from the middle and upper strata (57% from the four highest strata). Most teachers (and this is more the case for French-speaking teachers) enter a process of social mobility at the time they choose teaching as an occupation.

Do the socio-economic backgrounds of teachers have an effect upon their propensity to discuss politics with the students? In order to facilitate the analysis of the data on the relationship between this variable with other variables, we have reduced the categories in the index of socio-economic status of the father from six to three.

The results presented in Table 7.1.2 do not confirm our hypothesis in regard to the moderate effect of teachers' social backgrounds on their propensity to discuss politics with students. The proportion of teachers who discuss politics with students is the same, irrespective

TABLE 7.1.2

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics,
by socio-economic status of origin and by school language

Socio-economic status of origin	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (1)
High	50 (209)	61 (98)
Medium	50 (270)	59 (83)
Low	49 (649)	60 (120)

1 $\chi^2 = 0.16$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.92$, Cramer's $V = 0.01$.

2 $\chi^2 = 0.09$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.95$, Cramer's $V = 0.01$.

of the socio-economic status of origin: 50% among French-speaking, and 60% among English-speaking teachers. This means that the kind of socialization teachers experience in their milieu of origin before entering the teaching profession has no effect upon their propensity to discuss politics with students.

However from what Jaros (1968) found in his study, we might wonder whether a possible effect of teachers' social backgrounds could not be counterbalanced by the effect of the professional socialization they have experienced since their entering the profession. In other words, would not this non-relationship be transformed into a relationship if we could introduce a control on teachers' experience? Could teachers' social backgrounds have a moderate effect on less experienced teachers but no effect on more experienced teachers? Table 7.1.3. shows that this is not the case.² There are no significant differences between teachers

2 The analysis was conducted for French-speaking teachers only. For the question relating to teaching experience, see Appendix A, question 5.

TABLE 7.1.3

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by socio-economic status of origin and by teaching experience

Socio-economic status of origin	Teaching experience		
	5 years or less (1)	6 to 15 years (2)	16 years or more (3)
High	49 (92)	47 (88)	61 (28)
Medium	51 (119)	51 (114)	40 (35)
Low	50 (226)	47 (292)	51 (125)

1 $\chi^2 = 0.11$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.94$, Cramer's $V = 0.01$.

2 $\chi^2 = 0.57$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.75$, Cramer's $V = 0.03$.

3 $\chi^2 = 2.74$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.25$, Cramer's $V = 0.12$.

of different social backgrounds, irrespective of their teaching experience, even among the less experienced teachers who have not had much exposure to the socializing influence of the profession.

Do teachers' social backgrounds have an effect on their political orientations (political participation and liberalism) associated with their propensity to discuss politics? This is the question we will now examine. In trying to assess the effect of teachers' social backgrounds on their political participation, on the basis of Milbrath's (1965) conclusion that persons of high socio-economic status are more likely to participate in politics than persons of low socio-economic status we could formulate the following hypothesis: teachers born of families of high socio-economic status are more likely to have experienced living in an environment in which they would have received more stimuli to participate in politics than teachers born of families of low socio-

TABLE 7.1.4

Political participation of French-speaking teachers,
by socio-economic status of origin

Index of political participation (1)	Socio-economic status of origin		
	High %	Medium %	Low %
High	46	40	43
Low	54 (221)	60 (279)	57 (657)

1 $\chi^2 = 2.08$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.35$, Cramer's $V = 0.04$.

economic status. Table 7.1.4 shows that this hypothesis is not confirmed: French-speaking teachers originating from the upper social strata do not participate significantly more in politics than those originating from the lower social strata.

Perhaps we should then turn to another of Milbrath's conclusions in our attempt to assess the effect of teachers' backgrounds on teacher political participation. The author's conclusion is that upwardly mobile persons tend to be more active in politics than those who are stationary or downwardly mobile. Since a great majority of teachers, as we have seen, enter a process of upward social mobility when entering teaching, we could formulate a second hypothesis that upwardly mobile teachers are more likely to participate in politics than downwardly and stationary mobile teachers. Teachers originating from the highest stratum have been defined as downwardly mobile, those from the third and fourth highest strata as upwardly mobile (medium to high), and those from the fifth and

TABLE 7.1.5

Political participation of French-speaking teachers,
by social mobility

Index of political participation (1)	Downwardly mobile %	Stationary %	Upwardly mobile	
			Medium to high strata %	Low to high strata %
High	42	47	40	43
Low	58	53	60	57
	(24)	(197)	(279)	(657)

1 $\chi^2 = 2.30$, 3 d.f., $p = 0.51$, Cramer's $V = 0.04$.

sixth as upwardly mobile (low and high). Table 7.1.5 shows the results pertaining to the effect of teachers' social mobility on their political participation. (French-speaking teachers only). The results should be interpreted cautiously because of the low number of downwardly mobile teachers. The results do not confirm the hypothesis. Upwardly mobile teachers do not participate significantly more in politics than downwardly mobile nor stationary teachers.

We now turn to the assessment of the effect of teachers' social backgrounds on their liberalism. On the basis of Lipset's (1963) conclusion that when liberalism is defined in non-economic terms - as support of civil liberties, internationalism, etc. - the members of the upper strata are more liberal than those of the lower strata, the following hypothesis can be formulated: teachers born of low socio-economic status families are less likely to have experienced living in a liberal environment before entering teaching and less likely to be liberal. Table 7.1.6

TABLE 7.1.6

Liberalism-conservatism of French-speaking teachers
by socio-economic status of origin

Index of teacher liberalism-conservatism	Socio-economic status of origin (1)		
	High %	Medium %	Low %
High	52	47	44
Low	48	53	56
	(208)	(270)	(647)

1 $\chi^2 = 4.87$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.08$, Cramer's $V = 0.07$.

shows that this hypothesis is not confirmed: teachers of low socio-economic status discuss politics with students (44%) less often than those of high socio-economic status (52%), but the differences in percentage are not statistically significant.

As in the case of teacher political participation, we could wonder whether teachers' social mobility has an effect upon their liberalism. Previous research findings (Lipset, 1963, p. 272; Zeigler, 1966, p. 47) indicate that socially mobile persons tend to be more conservative than stationary persons. This is because downwardly mobile persons tend to identify with the group norms and values of the class which they have departed, while upwardly mobile persons tend to identify with the group norms of the class towards which they are moving. On the basis of these previous findings, our hypothesis would be that stationary teachers are more likely to be liberal than upwardly and downwardly mobile teachers. Table 7.1.7 presents the data on the relationship between teachers' social

TABLE 7.1.7

Liberalism-conservatism of French-speaking teachers,
by teachers' social mobility

Index of teacher liberalism-conservatism (1)	Downward mobility %	Stationary teachers %	Upward mobility	
			Medium to high %	Low to high %
High	43	53	47	44
Low	57	47	53	56
	(23)	(185)	(270)	(647)

1 $\chi^2 = 5.70$, 3 d.f., $p = 0.13$, Cramer's $V = 0.07$.

mobility and liberalism (for French-speaking teachers). Socially mobile teachers (whether downwardly or upwardly) do not significantly differ from stationary teachers. Our hypothesis is not confirmed, although there is a trend (not statistically significant) which is in line with our prediction.

Thus when we look at the effect of teachers' social backgrounds on their propensity to discuss politics or on the political orientations associated with their behavior in regard to political discussion, and whether we try to measure this effect in terms of socio-economic status of origin or in terms of social mobility, we find no evidence of the effect of teachers' social backgrounds on their propensity to discuss politics or on their political participation and liberalism. Perhaps the socializing influence of the teachers' milieu of origin is too far removed from teachers' present day situations and experiences for it to have an effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with

students. Other socializing influences may also have counterbalanced the socializing influence of teachers' milieus of origin. What about the effect of socialization to the teaching profession?

7.2. Teachers' occupational backgrounds

Teachers' training and experience may be considered to be the two main indicators of teachers' occupational backgrounds. These two variables have often been conceptualized in the literature in terms of professional socialization (Charters, 1963; Westwood, 1967; Lortie, 1975). In this perspective, the teacher training process is defined as part of the socialization to the profession, a process through which teachers receive a special training and internalize the image, norms and orientations of the teaching profession, as well as a certain definition of the teachers' role. According to Charters (1963), teacher participation in the system of social relationships which are found in training institutions and programs may "shape the teacher's role conception, his attitudes and values concerning himself, his colleagues, his clients and the teaching-learning process" (p. 749). This process does not end with the formal training preparing the teacher for the profession. The profession is assumed to exert its socializing influence long after the period of formal training. That is why teaching experience is also often conceptualized in terms of professional socialization. What are the effects of teachers' professional socialization to the profession and teachers' training and experience on their propensity to discuss politics with the students?

Research on the effects of teachers' professional socialization has pointed to different, and at times divergent conclusions. Charters (1963), who reviewed the literature on the effects of teachers' formal training arrived at the conclusion that these effects are rather limited. But according to the author, if the scope of the research on the topic was broadened and the research more adequately conceptualized, the effect of training perhaps would appear more important than what previous research has revealed.

Waller (1932) was the first to assess the effect of teaching experience on teachers, and to demonstrate the strong effect on teachers of their professional socialization after they enter the profession. He showed (pp. 386-400) that (a) teachers tended to be conservative, inflexible, and to have an abnormal concern for status; (b) if they did not have these traits when they entered the profession, they tended to develop them; (c) these attitudes or orientations tended to flow naturally out of their daily relations with the students, through which they developed a particular concern for order and for maintaining discipline. One might think that this was true in the 1930s when Waller conducted his analysis. But since then, the effect of teaching experience on teachers has not necessarily been the same, as both patterns of recruitment into the profession and traditional pedagogical approaches may have changed. Zeigler's (1966) more recent analysis tends to partly confirm Waller's conclusions however. According to him, the effect of teaching experience on teachers is to increase (a) job dissatisfaction among both male and female teachers; (b) their political conservatism (which is associated with job dissatisfaction among male teachers); and (c) their propensity to accept the educational establishment orthodoxy in pedagogical matters.

Thus, the early studies on the effect of professional socialization on teachers indicate that formal training has a rather limited effect and that teaching experience has a rather strong effect. More recently Lortie (1975) provided us with a general overview of the process of induction of teachers into the profession. He identified three basic components in all systems of occupational induction: formal schooling, mediated entry, and learning-while-doing. Compared with other professions, socialization to the teaching profession is not, he believes very highly developed. Teaching does not require as much preparation as some professions do, and the effects of the professional socialization process are rather limited. The process begins, in the case of teaching, with students' general schooling. For student teachers, their years as students in the school system represent an indirect apprenticeship, by observation of teachers, through which they begin developing identification with teachers. This early process of "apprenticeship-of-observation" lays the foundation for traditional, intuitive approaches to teaching, and does not develop in student teachers a concern for building a shared technical culture, nor does special schooling of teachers or practice teaching.

"College attendance and some specialized schooling are required; members of the occupation, however depreciate the latter. Mediated entry is part of preservice training and is at most a minor apprenticeship: the transition from college student to responsible teacher is abrupt. Years of unformulated experience as a student precede formal socialization; teachers themselves emphasize the importance of the private experiences they have as beginning teachers. This kind of socialization sequence leaves room for the emergence and reinforcement of idiosyncratic experience and personal synthesis. In neither structure nor content is it well suited to inculcating commonly held, empirically derived, and rigorously grounded practices and principles of pedagogy. The lessons taught by early yet persisting models rest on chance and personal preference; training in pedagogy does not seem to fundamentally alter earlier ideas about teaching." (p. 74)

One of the consequences of the limited effects on teachers of the professional socialization process is, according to Lortie, to reinforce both the conservative outlook of the profession and the occupational status quo which the patterns of recruitment tend to foster. The teaching profession appeals to young people who are favourably disposed towards the existing system (through the early identification process with the teaching profession), and encourages people with limited interest in the occupational affairs of teaching to enter the profession.

Lortie's conclusions relating to the limited effects of socialization to teaching need to be qualified, for the following reasons. First, these effects may appear limited when compared with the effects of professional socialization in other professions, of which the process of induction into the profession is more complex, more developed, and seems more adequate and efficient. But what about the effect of different training conditions within the teaching profession? These conditions perhaps do not vary considerably in the American context. However they have varied historically and still do in the context in which this research was conducted. The responsibility for teacher training in Quebec has passed during the last ten years from the Normal Schools to the universities, and the duration of required training has increased. In this context, we are inclined to think that the variations in teacher training within the teaching profession could result in different professional socialization effects.

Secondly, when Lortie concludes about the limited effects of teachers' professional socialization, he refers mainly to limited effect in regard to the emergence of a specific occupational sub-culture, and

consequently in regard to the capacity of the induction process to counterbalance a conservative bias which the patterns of recruitment into the profession tend to perpetuate. This does not mean that socialization to teaching might not have an effect on other aspects of the teachers' role.

Though Lortie introduces a distinction between three stages of professional socialization, he does not assess clearly enough the effects on teachers of each of these stages. On the basis of his observations, it would seem that the effect of formal training (socialization before entry) is rather limited, but that the effect of experience (socialization after entry), is greater and includes a more accentuated conservative bias. However Lortie does not believe that the effect of one might counterbalance the effect of the other.

Based on these comments about Lortie's analysis of socialization to teaching and on previous research we have reviewed, we are inclined to think that the effects of socialization to teaching may not be as limited as some studies suggest, and that we might find it advantageous to assess separately the effect of formal training (socialization before entry) and that of teaching experience (socialization after entry).

We are still more inclined to take these points of view into account in the formulation of our hypothesis when we consider the particular aspect of the teacher's role of which we want to assess the effect of socialization to teaching. The reader should recall at this point that the propensity of teachers to discuss politics is a very specific segment of the teacher's role, and appeared in Chapter 5 as part of a configuration of political and educational orientations. These orientations could perhaps be influenced to a greater degree by socialization to teaching

than by other aspects of teaching. Literature on political participation (Milbrath, 1965) and liberalism (Clark, 1962) has shown that college graduates tend to be more liberal and to participate more in politics than those who did not attend college.

Moreover, literature pertaining more specifically to teachers' political discussion with the students tends to show that teacher training and teaching experience have an effect upon teachers' political expressivism. Jennings and Zeigler (1970) have tried to assess the effect of graduate training on teachers' political expressivism at the community and classroom levels. They found that teachers who had graduate training displayed attitudes fundamentally dissimilar from those who had none. Those with an M.A. scored higher on the indices of classroom and community political expressivism, although the relationship is weaker for the index of classroom political expressivism. In interpreting these results, the authors conclude that "possessing an M.A. seems to give the teachers more protection, confidence, and aggressiveness in defining the teacher's role in public life but that the strengthening is muted in the classroom domain" (p. 446).

As far as the effect of teaching experience is concerned, the two authors have also found that increased experience does not necessarily reduce the propensity of teachers to express themselves politically in the community, but that in the classroom it does. Jones (1971) has also shown that teaching experience is correlated with the propensity of teachers to deal frequently with controversial topics in the classroom. "The younger and newer teachers were more inclined to deal with controversy than the older, experienced teachers... The correlation between length of teaching career and controversy persists when age is held constant" (p. 103).

On the basis of both these considerations and previous research findings, we have formulated the general hypothesis that socialization to teaching is likely to have a considerable effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, and that the effect of formal training is likely to be different from that of teaching experience. We have selected duration of training and teaching experience as indicators of professional socialization to teaching before entering the profession and professional socialization after entering the profession, respectively, and we have formulated the following two hypotheses: (a) the longer the duration of training, the more likely teachers will be to discuss politics with the students. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that teachers with a longer training are more likely to be liberal and to adhere to new norms emerging within the teaching profession in regard to discussion of political affairs with the students. They also are more likely to be self-confident, sure of their status and ready to assert themselves concerning the discussion of political affairs with the students, even if they perceive that the community might disapprove of political discussions with the students; (b) the greater their teaching experience, the less likely teachers will be to be in favor of political discussion and to actually discuss politics with the students. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that the teaching profession exerts a conservative influence on teachers, an influence which would inhibit the teachers from adopting a new professional norm and behavior in regard to political discussion with the students.

7.2.1. Teacher training

The duration of training has been measured by the numbers of years of schooling with which teachers are officially credited by the

Department of Education for salary purposes. Three categories have been defined: 14 years of schooling or less, 15 or 16 years of schooling, and 17 years of schooling or more. Most teachers with 14 years of schooling or less received their training in the old Normal Schools and did not attend college. Teachers with 15 or 16 years of schooling either attended college, or attended a Normal School and have been credited with one year of college schooling for the teaching diploma obtained at Normal School, or attended Normal School and completed one or two years of college schooling (evening or summer courses). Teachers with 17 years of schooling or more either have a master's degree or have been credited with one year of college schooling in programs other than the one in which they obtained their college degree.

Table 7.2.1.1. shows that (a) a majority of teachers (53% and 46%) have been credited with 15 or 16 years of schooling; (b) English-speaking teachers have had a longer training than French-speaking teachers: 34% of English-speaking teachers have been credited with 17 years of schooling or more, compared to 22% of French-speaking teachers. The proportion of French-speaking teachers with 14 years of schooling or less is also higher (25%) than that of English-speaking (20%) teachers.

Does the duration of training have an effect upon the propensity of teachers to discuss politics? Table 7.2.1.2 provides support for our hypothesis: the greater the duration of training, the higher the propensity of teachers to discuss politics is, among both French-speaking and English-speaking teachers. And the formal training component of teachers' professional socialization to teaching appears to have a strong effect (the phi coefficients are 0.18 and 0.15 respectively) on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students.

TABLE 7.2.1.1

Duration of teacher training, by school language

Duration of training (1)	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
14 years or less	25	20
15 or 16 years	53	46
17 years or more	22	34
	(1283)	(362)

1 $\chi^2 = 22.27$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.12$.

TABLE 7.2.1.2

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by duration of teacher training and by school language

Duration of teacher training	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (2)
14 years or less	37 (285)	47 (59)
15 to 16 years	48 (589)	61 (146)
17 years or more	63 (260)	68 (106)

1 $\chi^2 = 35.50$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.16$.2 $\chi^2 = 6.66$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.15$.

Why do the more "qualified" teachers (in terms of years of schooling) discuss politics more often than the less "qualified" teachers? Would it be, as we have hypothesized, because of their political and educational orientations? Do they participate more in politics, are they more liberal and more likely to share student-expressive goals for the school? Or would it be, as we saw in Chapter 6, because they are more likely to teach older, or more mature students (secondary III, IV, V), and, in our interpretation, to have more opportunities to discuss politics with students than the less "qualified" teachers?

We will try to answer these questions, for French-speaking teachers only. The data presented in Table 7.2.1.3 (and Table 6.4.5, in Chapter 6 pertaining to secondary school level) shows that these variables are actually associated with the duration of teacher training. The more "qualified" teachers are more likely to participate in politics, to be liberal, to adhere to student-expressive goals for the schools, and to teach secondary III, IV and V students. However, they have no greater likelihood of teaching a subject matter which lends itself more readily to political discussion.

But a control of the association between the duration of teacher training and the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students on these variables shows that irrespective of whether teachers are liberal or conservative, score high or score low on the index of political participation, or agree or do not agree with student-expressive goals for the schools (Table 7.2.1.4), the more "qualified" teachers discuss politics with students more often than the less "qualified" teachers. Moreover, regardless of whether teachers had a long training (17 years) or a short

TABLE 7.2.1.3

French-speaking teacher political participation, liberalism and conception of the goals of the school, by duration of training

	Duration of training		
	14 years or less %	15 or 16 years %	17 years or more %
A. Index of liberalism-conservatism (1)			
High (liberalism)	36	45	58
Low (conservatism)	64	55	42
	(281)	(597)	(258)
B. Index of political participation (2)			
High	35	46	46
Low	65	54	54
	(285)	(623)	(265)
C. Conception of the goals of the school: student-expressive goal (3)			
agree	66	68	80
disagree	34	32	20
	(291)	(628)	(269)

1 $\chi^2 = 27.09$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.15$.

2 $\chi^2 = 10.82$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.09$.

3 $\chi^2 = 17.27$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.12$.

training (14 years or less), teacher political participation, liberalism and the conception teachers have of the goals of the school are associated with their propensity to discuss politics. This means that although teacher training is associated with these variables, it exercises an effect which is independent of that of teachers' educational and political orientations.

TABLE 7.2.1.4

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by duration of training, and by liberalism-conservatism, political participation, and conception of the goals of the school

Duration of training	14 years or less	15 or 16 years	17 years or more
A. Index of liberalism-conservatism			
liberal (1)	47 (90)	55 (245)	68 (141)
conservative (2)	35 (164)	43 (296)	55 (101)
B. Index of political participation			
high (3)	53 (88)	61 (266)	77 (111)
low (4)	27 (169)	38 (302)	51 (138)
C. Conception of the goals of the school: student-expressive goal			
agree (5)	43 (182)	50 (340)	64 (205)
disagree (6)	29 (80)	45 (190)	56 (51)

1 $\chi^2 = 11.35$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.15$.

2 $\chi^2 = 10.31$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.14$.

3 $\chi^2 = 12.77$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.17$.

4 $\chi^2 = 17.85$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.17$.

5 $\chi^2 = 18.20$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.15$.

6 $\chi^2 = 11.71$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.18$.

This is also true in regard to the opportunity of teaching older students in secondary III, IV and V. As we can observe in Table 6.4.6, presented in Chapter 6, regardless of the secondary school level the more "qualified" teachers discuss politics with students more often. Thus it is not because the more qualified teachers have more opportunity to discuss politics than the less qualified teachers that they actually discuss politics more often than the less qualified teachers.

We have shown up to now that it is not because they are more "politicized", more liberal or agree in a larger proportion with student-expressive goals for the school that the more "qualified" teachers discuss politics more often with students, although teacher training is associated with these variables and reinforces their effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics. Nor do they discuss politics more often with students because they have more opportunities to do so, i.e. because they are more likely to teach older students and subjects which lend themselves more easily to political discussion. We are inclined to think that it might be because their longer training makes them more self-confident, sure of their status and ready to assert themselves in their role as agents of political socialization. This interpretation tends to be confirmed when we observe that the more "qualified" teachers do not perceive any fewer negative sanctions³ in regard to political discussion with students (Table 7.2.1.5), but discuss politics with students much more often (52% vs 32%, 31%) when they do perceive a high degree of negative sanctions than the less "qualified" teachers (Table 7.2.1.6).

TABLE 7.2.1.5
Perceived negative sanctions, by duration of
training among French-speaking teachers

Index of perceived negative sanctions (1)	14 years or less %	15 or 16 years %	17 years or more %
Low	50	54	58
High	50	45	42
	(213)	(466)	(194)

1 $\chi^2 = 2.98$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.22$, Cramer's $V = 0.06$.

3 For a detailed description of the index of perceived negative sanctions in regard to political discussion, see Chapter 3.

TABLE 7.2.1.6

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by duration of training and by perceived negative sanctions

Index of perceived negative sanctions	14 years or more	15 or 16 years	17 years or more
Low (1)	90 (105)	67 (247)	73 (107)
High (2)	32 (105)	31 (211)	52 (81)

1 $\chi^2 = 13.13$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.17$.

2 $\chi^2 = 11.93$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.17$.

Before trying to assess the effect of teachers' professional socialization after entering the profession (teaching experience) on their role as agents of political socialization, we would like to bring out the relationship which, among French-speaking teachers, exists between the duration of teacher training and the socio-economic status of teachers' families. The data presented in Table 7.2.1.7 show that French-speaking teachers originating from the high socio-economic strata are more likely to have a longer training, and that those from the low socio-economic strata are more likely to have a shorter training. This means that although a teacher's socio-economic status of origin has no direct effect on his propensity to discuss politics, it may have an indirect effect through his training.

TABLE 7.2.1.7

Duration of training, by socio-economic status of origin,
for French-speaking teachers

Duration of training (1)	Socio-economic status of origin		
	High %	Medium %	Low %
14 years or less	18	22	29
15 or 16 years	53	54	52
17 years or more	29	24	20
	(235)	(302)	(707)

1 $\chi^2 = 17.11$, 4 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.08$.

7.2.2. Teaching experience

What is the effect of teachers' professional socialization after they enter the teaching profession? Teaching experience is defined as an indicator of teachers' socialization to the profession after their formal training or their initial period of professional socialization. Do teachers, as we have hypothesized, discuss politics less often as their experience increases? Does socialization after entering the profession counterbalance the socializing influence of formal training on their behavior in regard to political discussion? To what extent does teaching experience have an effect on teachers' educational and political orientations?

Before answering these questions, we need to know more about the distribution of teaching experience. According to Table 7.2.2.1, about 20% (18% and 21%) of teachers have more than 15 years of experience

TABLE 7.2.2.1

Teaching experience, by school language

Teaching experience	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
5 years or less	38	41
6 to 15 years	44	38
16 years or more	18	21
	(1296)	(363)

1 $\chi^2 = 4.31$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.11$, Cramer's $V = 0.05$.

in teaching, both in French-language and English-language schools. This means either that the teaching staff is young, or that there is a high turnover rate, or that both phenomena reinforce each other. The proportion of teachers with five years of experience or less equals that of those with 6 to 15 years (around 40%), in both French-language and English-language schools. Thus teachers in both French-language and English-language schools do not differ from each other in as much as the teaching experience of their members is concerned.

The data on the relationship between the propensity of teachers to discuss politics and teaching experience appear in Table 7.2.2.2. Our hypothesis is completely rejected: the propensity of teachers to discuss politics does not decrease with teaching experience. This means that although the teachers' professional socialization that occurs after entering the profession does not encourage teachers to play an explicit role in the students' socialization to politics, it does not counterbalance

TABLE 7.2.2.2

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics,
by teaching experience and by school language

Teaching experience	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (2)
5 years or less	49 (448)	61 (126)
6 to 15 years	48 (504)	61 (122)
16 years or more	50 (198)	52 (65)

1 $\chi^2 = 0.44$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.80$, Cramer's $V = 0.02$.

2 $\chi^2 = 1.72$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.42$, Cramer's $V = 0.07$.

the effect of the socialization that occurs before entering the profession either, contrary to what was hypothesized.

Our first reaction would be to seek an explanation for this absence of a relationship in the particular distribution of the duration of teacher training. Table 7.2.2.3 shows that among French-speaking teachers, the proportion of those newly admitted to the profession (5 years or less) with 15 or 16 years of training is much higher (65%) and that the proportion of those with 14 years schooling or less or with 17 years schooling or more is much lower (17% and 18%) than are the proportions of teachers in the same categories of training who have been in the profession for more than 6 years. This means that, although teachers newly admitted to the profession (5 years or less) tend to have a medium-length training period (15 or 16 years of schooling), the proportion of both less "qualified" teachers (14 years or less) and more "qualified" teachers (17 years or more) tends to be higher among the more experienced teachers.

TABLE 7.2.2.3

French-speaking teachers' teaching experience,
by duration of training

Duration of training (1)	Teaching experience		
	5 years or less Σ	6 to 15 years Σ	16 years or more Σ
14 years or less	17	31	27
15 or 16 years	65	46	45
17 years or more	18	23	29
	(490)	(561)	(222)
Mean number of years of schooling	15.4	15.4	15.6

1 $\chi^2 = 49.60$, 4 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.14$.

As a matter of fact, the distribution of teacher training according to teaching experience is such that the mean number of years of schooling tends to be the same (15.4 years) in the three categories of teaching experience (Table 7.2.2.3). This is why we have wondered whether the absence of a relationship between the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students and teaching experience might not be explained by this particular distribution of teacher training.

But when we control on the duration of teacher training, it does appear (Table 7.2.2.4) that teaching experience has no statistically significant effect, irrespective of the duration of teacher training. This means that the absence of a relationship between teachers' political discussion and teaching experience cannot be "explained" by the particular

TABLE 7.2.2.4

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by teaching experience and by duration of training

Duration of training	Experience		
	5 years or less	6 to 15 years	16 years or more
14 years or less (1)	40 (82)	33 (150)	44 (48)
15 or 16 years (2)	49 (280)	49 (226)	42 (88)
17 years or more (3)	59 (82)	65 (121)	66 (56)

1 $\chi^2 = 2.17$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.34$, Cramer's $V = 0.09$.

2 $\chi^2 = 1.53$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.46$, Cramer's $V = 0.05$.

3 $\chi^2 = 1.04$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.59$, Cramer's $V = 0.06$.

distribution of teacher training among the different categories of teaching experience. Conversely, the effect of training is maintained whatever the teaching experience. This means that the effect of teacher training lasts even among teachers with 16 years or more of experience.

Teaching experience has no direct effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics. But does it have an effect, as we have hypothesized, on the teachers' political and educational orientations associated with their propensity to discuss politics (political participation, liberalism, conception of the goals of the school)? Table 7.2.2.5 shows that among French-speaking teachers, the more experienced teachers are more conservative and participate less in politics than the less experienced teachers. But they do not differ from the less experienced teachers with respect to their conception of the goal of the school (student-expressive goal).

TABLE 7.2.2.5

French-speaking teacher political participation, liberalism-conservatism and conception of the goals of the school, by teaching experience

	5 years or less	6 to 15 years	16 years or more
A. Teacher liberalism-conservatism (1)			
high (liberalism)	50	49	29
low (conservatism)	50	51	71
	(436)	(521)	(189)
B. Teacher political participation (2)			
high	47	45	31
low	53	55	69
	(445)	(525)	(214)
C. Conception of the goals of the school: student-expressive goal (3)			
agree	70	70	72
disagree	30	30	28
	(457)	(535)	(206)

1 $\chi^2 = 27.09$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.15$.

2 $\chi^2 = 10.83$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.10$.

3 $\chi^2 = 11.40$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.19$.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have tried to assess the effect of teachers' social and occupational backgrounds on their propensity to discuss politics with students. The summary of the results appears in Figure 5.

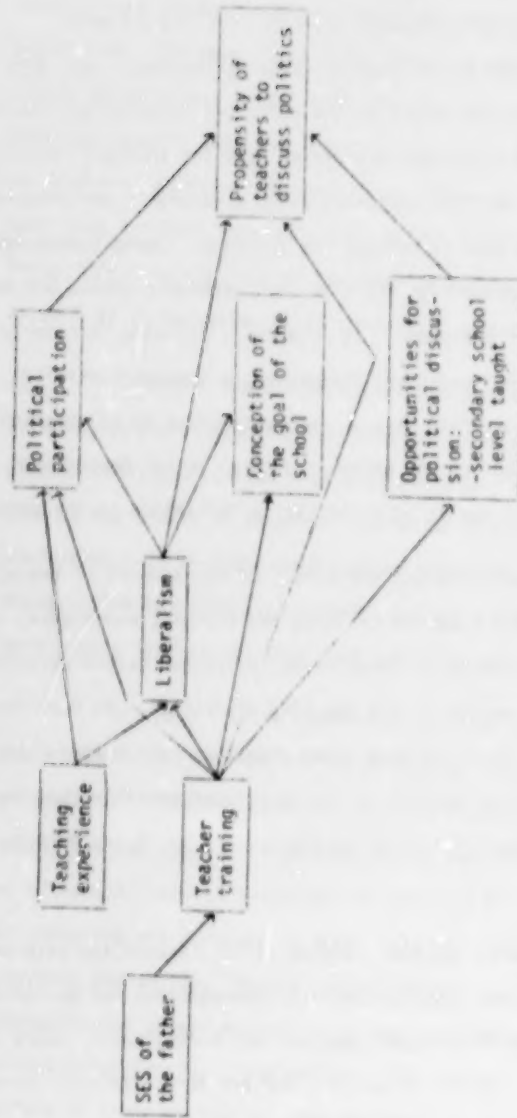


Figure 5: Relationships of social and occupational background variables with the propensity of teachers to discuss politics and other independent variables (French-speaking teachers)

It appears that teachers' social backgrounds, or their belonging to a particular social stratum before they enter the profession, has no effect on their propensity to discuss politics with the students, either among French-speaking or English-speaking teachers. Nor does their social origin have an effect on the political orientations (political participation and liberalism) associated with the teachers' political discussion. The only indirect influence which a teacher's socio-economic status of origin could have is through his training. Among French-speaking teachers, those originating from the high socio-economic strata are more likely to have a longer training. As teacher training is closely associated with teachers' political discussion, a teacher's original socio-economic status may only have an indirect effect on his propensity to discuss politics. But on the whole, teachers' social backgrounds do not shape their role as agents of political socialization in the school.

We have tried to assess the effect of two aspects of teachers' occupational backgrounds (teacher training and teaching experience) and to interpret these variables in terms of socialization before (training) and after entering (experience) the teaching profession. We have found that teachers discuss politics more often when they have a longer training, and that teacher training emerges as the background variable that has the strongest effect (Cramer's $V = 0.18$) on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics.

The duration of teacher training is also associated with teachers' political and educational orientations and opportunities for political discussions. The more "qualified" teachers are more liberal, score higher on the index of political participation, and are more likely to agree with

student-expressive goals than are the less qualified teachers. It also appears that teacher training conditions opportunities for political discussion. The more "qualified" teachers are more likely to teach higher levels of secondary school than are the less "qualified" teachers. But although teacher training is associated with these variables, its effect on teachers' political discussion is independent of them. These results mean that teachers' socialization before entering the profession has a heavy impact on the role of teachers as agents of political socialization as well as on variables which contribute to shape or condition this role.

Teachers' socialization after entering the profession, as measured by teaching experience, has no effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics. Contrary to what was expected, it does not counterbalance the effect of teachers' socialization before they enter the profession. It is associated however with teachers' political orientations, since the more experienced teachers are more conservative and participate less in politics than the less experienced teachers.

We would like to comment briefly on these results. First, we would like to qualify the effect of teacher training on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students. It is difficult to assess whether the effect of training is the effect of general schooling or of special teacher training. As Lortie (1975) points out, both kinds of schooling are involved in work socialization. And in the case of the teaching profession, "special schooling for teachers is neither intellectually nor organizationally as complex as that found in the established professions" (p. 58). Our analysis does not allow us to conclude that the effect of training that we have observed is the effect of special teacher,

training either nor does it allow us to isolate the effects of the two kinds of schooling on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics.

We are inclined to believe, although we cannot base our opinion on direct empirical evidence, that the "general schooling" component of teachers' schooling should be mainly credited for the effect that teacher training has on the behavior of teachers in regard to political discussion, for the following reasons:

- (a) our measure of schooling focuses on the amount or duration of training, and not on the type (general or special) of training;
- (b) general schooling is known to have enduring effects (Hyman, 1975). There is no reason why it would not have the same effects on student teachers;
- (c) the technical or special component of teacher training is not as developed in the teaching profession as it is in other professions. This has been particularly true in Quebec in the past, and it is still the case in particular among teachers with 14 years of schooling or less;
- (d) we have observed that the duration of training is associated with liberalism and political participation. These are variables known to be associated with general schooling (Milbrath, 1965).

These comments perhaps allow us to partly reconcile our point of view about the effect of teachers' socialization with that of Lortie's about the limits of teachers' socialization. We found in our analysis that teacher training had a considerable effect on teacher behavior in regard to political discussions with students and on other variables related to political discussion. The effect of teacher training, however,

might well be attributable more to the general schooling component of teacher training than to its special training component.

We would also like to qualify the distinction we have made between professional socialization before and after entering the profession, because we have found that teaching experience is associated with the duration of training. Student teachers now tend to enter the profession (because the school system encourages them to do so) with a longer training (15 or 16 years of schooling) than before: the proportion of French-speaking teachers with 14 years of schooling or less increases with teaching experience, and that of French-speaking teachers with 15 or 16 years decreases with teaching experience (as we saw in Table 7.2.2.3). But the proportion of those with 17 years or more of schooling also increases with teaching experience. This trend reflects attempts by teachers to increase their numbers of years of schooling and to complete their training through in-service training, evening and summer courses. They are encouraged to do so by the system of remuneration, which is based on duration of training and on teaching experience. This means that many teachers are credited with some of their years of schooling after they enter the profession, and that in many cases there is no clearcut distinction between formal training before entering the profession and teaching experience, or between socialization before and after the entering the profession.

Finally, because teacher training is strongly associated with the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students, and among French-speaking teachers with political participation and liberalism, two variables also associated with our dependent variable, we should not

be surprised if the general public feels that teachers discuss politics with the students more often than before. Perhaps this corresponds to reality, inasmuch as teacher schooling has increased over the last ten years ever since school reform has been implemented and teacher training reoriented and reorganized at the university level. We should recall nonetheless, as we saw in Chapter 4, that teachers still do not discuss politics with students very often.

CHAPTER 8

COMMUNITY AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCHOOL

To what extent does the community and organizational context of the school contribute to shaping the teacher's role as an agent of political socialization? This is the question we wish to ask in this chapter. Our analysis of the effect of the social and organizational context of the school on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students is based on the assumption that the behavior of the incumbent of an occupational position is influenced not only by the occupational norms of the profession, by situational elements related to his network of interaction in his immediate environment, and by his social and occupational background, but also by extra-occupational forces, and more particularly by the characteristics of both the community and the organizational setting in which he has to perform his role.

Do teachers who teach in metropolitan areas, middle-class districts, or in public schools discuss politics with the students more often than those who teach in small towns, in working-class districts, or in private schools? Our objective in this chapter is to assess the effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students of two community characteristics of the school where teachers teach, i.e. the socio-economic status of the school and the size of the community

where the school is located, as well as the effect of one organizational characteristic, i.e. whether the school is public or private. We will also try to assess the effect of these characteristics on teachers' political and educational orientations and on the variables related to the teachers' network of interaction. To what extent are colleagues' expectations, perceived negative sanctions and role conflict in regard to political discussion influenced, as we have hypothesized, by the larger community context and organizational setting in which teachers have to perform their role?

B.1. Size of the community where the school is located

The first community characteristic of which we want to assess the effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics is the size of the community where the school is located. Community size is an indicator of a more general dimension of the social structure of the community. It refers to the complexity of its social structure, and to its degree of urbanization and industrialization.

Three categories of communities have been defined: (a) villages or small towns with 5,000 people or less, (b) medium-sized towns of more than 5,000 people, other than those included in metropolitan areas, and (c) metropolitan areas (Montreal, Quebec City, Chicoutimi-Jonquiere). Population figures for the communities where the teachers' schools are located were taken from the 1971 Canadian census. Our definition of a metropolitan area is also that found in the Canadian census (1971).

The reader will recall that our hypothesis is that teachers in large metropolitan areas are more likely to discuss politics with the

students than those in either medium-sized towns or small towns and villages. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that (a) teachers in large heterogeneous communities face a more tolerant environment than teachers in more homogeneous small communities where social control is tighter; (b) in the more tolerant context of metropolitan areas it would be easier for teachers to adopt a behavior, in regard to political discussion with the students, that would depart from the traditional norm. This hypothesis has already been tested by Jennings and Zeigler (1970). In a study of social studies teachers from a national US sample, teachers of large metropolitan areas were more likely to express themselves politically, both inside and outside the classroom, than teachers of smaller towns and communities. Is this true of teachers in Quebec?

Table 8.1.1 shows that a high proportion of English-speaking teachers are concentrated in metropolitan areas (69%), while a high proportion of French-speaking teachers teach in smaller communities (26% in villages or small towns, 32% in medium-sized towns), although a large proportion of them (42%) do teach in schools located in one of the three metropolitan areas in Quebec.

Table 8.1.2 shows the relationship between the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students and the size of the community where the school is located. The data do not follow the trend we had expected: (a) French-speaking teachers in medium-sized towns and metropolitan areas (49% and 45%) do not discuss politics with the students any more often than those in small towns and villages (54%). As a matter of fact, the latter discuss politics slightly more often than the former. But the differences in percentages are rather small (Cramer's V correlation

TABLE B.1.1

Teachers in schools located in communities of
different sizes, by school language

Community size (1)	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
Villages or small towns	26	8
Medium-sized towns	32	23
Metropolitan areas	42	69
	(1309)	(376)

1 $\chi^2 = 91.64$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.23$.

TABLE B.1.2

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics,
by community size and by school language

Community size	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (2)
Villages or small towns	54 (311)	61 (31)
Medium-sized towns	45 (368)	65 (74)
Metropolitan areas	49 (481)	57 (217)

1 $\chi^2 = 6.03$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.07$.

2 $\chi^2 = 1.41$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.49$, Cramer's $V = 0.06$.

coefficient = 0.07) and do not indicate a clear trend; (b) there are no statistically significant differences in regard to political discussion between English-speaking teachers in communities of different size. We are inclined to conclude that the rural-urban character of the community (measured by the size of the community) where the school is located has no effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, and thus we will not develop the analysis any further.

If it is true that teachers who teach in metropolitan areas do not discuss politics with students more often than those who teach in smaller towns and villages, does the rural-urban character of the community have an effect on the variables related to the teachers' network of interaction that are correlated with the propensity of teachers to discuss politics? Do teachers in villages and small towns perceive more negative sanctions than those in metropolitan areas? Do teachers in homogeneous communities (villages and small towns) experience less role conflict than those in metropolitan areas? Are teachers in metropolitan areas more likely to work in schools where their colleagues actually expect them to discuss politics than those in small towns and villages? Table 8.1.3 shows that teachers in villages and small towns perceive no more negative sanctions than do teachers in metropolitan areas. Nor do teachers in homogeneous communities experience less role conflict than those in metropolitan areas. But teachers in villages are more likely to work in schools where their colleagues expect them to discuss politics than are those in small towns and metropolitan areas.

We might also wonder whether teachers' political and educational orientations and training do not vary with community size. Table 8.1.4

TABLE 8.1.3

Colleagues' expectations, perceived negative sanctions and
perceived role conflict among French-speaking teachers,
by community size

	Community size		
	Villages and small towns %	Medium-sized towns %	Metropolitan areas %
A. Colleagues' expectations (1)			
- schools where <u>less than</u> 50% are pro-discussion	32	66	61
- schools where <u>50% or more</u> are pro-discussion	68	34	39
	(337)	(423)	(549)
B. Index of perceived negative sanctions (2)			
- low	55	50	57
- high	45	50	43
	(249)	(273)	(364)
C. Perceived role conflict (3)			
- low	60	60	57
- high	40	40	43
	(249)	(273)	(364)

1 $\chi^2 = 102.68$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.28$.

2 $\chi^2 = 0.84$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.65$, Cramer's $V = 0.03$.

3 $\chi^2 = 3.01$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.22$, Cramer's $V = 0.06$.

shows that teachers in metropolitan areas participate in politics less than do teachers in medium-sized towns, but tend to be more liberal than teachers in villages or small and medium-sized towns. Teachers in metropolitan areas are also more likely to share student-expressive goals for the school and to have a longer training than are those in the other types of communities.

TABLE 8.1.4

Political participation, liberalism-conservatism, conception of the goals of the school and training among French-speaking teachers, by community size

	Community size		
	Villages or small towns 2	Medium-sized towns 1	Metropolitan areas 3
A. Political participation (1)			
- high	44	48	39
- low	56	52	61
	(320)	(379)	(495)
B. Liberalism-conservatism (2)			
- conservatism	58	57	50
- liberalism	42	43	50
	(301)	(366)	(488)
C. Conception of the goals of the school: student-expressive goal (3)			
- agree	65	69	76
- disagree	35	31	24
	(318)	(382)	(508)
D. Duration of training (4)			
- 14 years or less	27	20	28
- 15 or 16 years	59	54	47
- 17 years or more	14	26	25
	(336)	(410)	(531)

1 $\chi^2 = 8.75$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.08$.

2 $\chi^2 = 6.99$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.08$.

3 $\chi^2 = 13.08$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.10$.

4 $\chi^2 = 27.46$, 4 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.10$.

8.2. Socio-economic status of the school

The socio-economic status of the school refers to the social-class composition of the student body. A school is said to have a high socio-economic status when a relatively high proportion of its students originate from families of high socio-economic status. Similarly a school is said to have a low socio-economic status when a relatively high proportion of its students originate from families of low socio-economic status. Herriott and St-John (1960) have studied the characteristics of schools of low socio-economic status and have found that in this type of school students have a higher likelihood of being characterized in terms of economic deprivation, home instability, parental apathy, inadequate supervision, academic deprivation and low motivation (p. 54). Also, they have shown that the proportion of young, less experienced teachers was higher in schools of low socio-economic status than in schools of high socio-economic status. In these schools, there is also a higher rate of teacher horizontal mobility, and teachers appear more dissatisfied. Thus, both students' and teachers' characteristics vary according to the social composition of the student body. To what extent do these differences in the student body and in the teaching staff have an effect on the teachers' role as agents of political socialization and on their propensity to discuss politics with students?

We have formulated the hypothesis that teachers are more likely to discuss politics in schools of high SES than in schools of low SES. We have come to formulate this hypothesis on the basis of Litt's (1963) analysis of civics courses, which we referred to in Chapter 1. The author found that the effects of civic education vary

according to the social class of the students, and that civic education is more likely to emphasize political participation and an "active" view of politics in an upper-middle class community than in a working class community. Though Litt's study does not focus directly on teachers' political discussion with the students, it can be assumed, on the basis of Litt's conclusion, that in schools of high SES students are more likely to encourage their teachers to discuss politics with them and teachers are more likely to do so, than in schools of low SES.

An index of the socio-economic school status has been set up from the estimates of the principals.¹ Two categories of schools have been defined: those with a high SES (above the median) and those with a low SES (below the median).

Table 8.2.1 shows that a majority (78%) of English-speaking teachers teach in schools of high socio-economic status, while the proportion of French-speaking teachers who teach in schools of high (46%) and low (54%) socio-economic status are about the same. Table 8.2.2 also shows that the socio-economic status of the school is associated with community size. Among French-speaking teachers, teachers in schools located in villages or small towns tend to work in schools of low SES, while those in schools located in metropolitan areas tend to work in schools of high socio-economic status. The data should be interpreted cautiously in the case of English-speaking teachers, since most of them work in schools located in metropolitan areas. It appears however that teachers working in schools located in metropolitan areas and small towns or villages are more likely to teach in schools of high socio-economic status than those working in schools located in medium-sized towns.

¹ For a detailed description of the index of socio-economic status of the school, see Chapter 3.

TABLE 8.2.1

Teachers in schools of different socio-economic status, by school language

Socio-economic status of the school (1)	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
Low	54	22
High	46	78
	(1141)	(328)

1 $\chi^2 = 104.50$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.27$.

TABLE 8.2.2

Teachers in schools of different socio-economic status, by community size and by school language

Socio-economic status of the school	French-speaking (1)			English-speaking (2)		
	Villages, small towns %	Medium-sized towns %	Metropolitan areas %	Villages, small towns %	Medium-sized towns %	Metropolitan areas %
Low	90	55	31	22	42	15
High	10	45	69	78	58	85
	(299)	(383)	(459)	(32)	(76)	(220)

1 $\chi^2 = 253.55$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.47$.

2 $\chi^2 = 23.19$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.26$.

TABLE 8.2.3

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by socio-economic status of the school and by school language

Socio-economic status of the school	French-speaking (1)	English-speaking (2)
Low	53 (561)	58 (223)
High	44 (454)	64 (61)

1 $\chi^2 = 7.43$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.09$.

2 $\chi^2 = 0.41$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.52$, $\phi = 0.05$.

The relationship between the SES of the school and the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students appears in Table 8.2.3. Teachers in schools of low SES discuss politics more often (53%) than those in schools of high SES (44%) among French-speaking teachers, but there is no statistically significant relationship between the two variables among English-speaking teachers. Thus not only is our hypothesis not confirmed, but we have found, in the case of French-speaking teachers that contrary to what was predicted teachers in schools of low SES discuss politics more often than those in schools of high SES.

Because the size of the community and the SES of the school are related, we have controlled the relationship between the propensity of teachers to discuss politics and the SES of the school on the size of the community where the school is located, for French-speaking teachers. The data on the interrelationships between these 3 variables are presented in Table 8.2.4. It appears that when we control on the size of the community where the school is located, the relationship between the

TABLE 8.2.4

Percentage of French-speaking teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by socio-economic status of the school and by community size

Socio-economic status of the school	Community size		
	Villages, small towns (1)	Medium-sized towns (2)	Metropolitan areas (3)
Low	54 (250)	43 (184)	68 (127)
High	50 (30)	46 (150)	42 (274)

1 $\chi^2 = 0.03$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.86$, $\phi = 0.02$.

2 $\chi^2 = 0.66$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.42$, $\phi = 0.05$.

3 $\chi^2 = 21.99$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.24$.

propensity of teachers to discuss politics and the SES of the school is maintained and reinforced, but only in the case of teachers working in schools located in metropolitan areas. This means that teachers working in schools of low SES discuss politics with the students more often than those working in schools of high SES in metropolitan areas only.

Why do French-speaking teachers working in schools located in working-class districts of metropolitan areas discuss politics with students more often? Would it be because of their greater likelihood of being involved in politics, or because of their political orientations (liberalism-conservatism) or their conception of the school? Are they more qualified in terms of years of schooling? Table 8.2.5 shows that it is not because of their political participation and orientations, their conception of the school, or their level of training. French-speaking teachers of metropolitan areas working in schools of low socio-economic

TABLE 8.2.5

Political participation, liberalism-conservatism, conception of the goals of the school and training among French-speaking teachers in metropolitan areas, by socio-economic status of the school

	Socio-economic status of the school	
	low %	high %
A. Political participation (1)		
- high	45	37
- low	55	63
	(131)	(284)
B. Liberalism-conservatism (2)		
- liberalism	50	50
- conservatism	50	50
	(120)	(293)
C. Conception of the goals of the school: student instrumental goals (3)		
- agree	79	78
- disagree	21	22
	(135)	(304)
D. Duration of training (4)		
- 14 years or less	31	31
- 15 or 16 years	47	45
- 17 years or more	22	23
	(137)	(309)

1 $\chi^2 = 2.56$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.11$, $\phi = 0.08$.

2 $\chi^2 = 0.01$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.93$, $\phi = 0.00$.

3 $\chi^2 = 0.00$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.97$, $\phi = 0.01$.

4 $\chi^2 = 0.19$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.91$, Cramer's $V = 0.02$.

status do not participate more in politics, and are no more liberal than those in schools of high SES. They do not have a longer training, nor are they more likely to share student-expressive goals for the school than teachers in schools of high SES.

Should we look for an explanation in the variables related to the teachers' network of interaction? Are teachers in schools of low SES more likely to be in schools where their colleagues expect them to discuss politics with students? Do they perceive fewer negative sanctions in regard to political discussion? Are they more likely to perceive a high degree of role conflict? Or would they have more opportunities to teach older students (secondary III, IV and V) and subjects which lend themselves to political discussion?

Table B.2.6 (d and e) shows that teachers in schools of low SES tend to teach secondary III, IV and V students and different subjects in the same proportion as teachers in schools of high SES. Therefore teachers in schools of low socio-economic status do not have any more opportunities to discuss politics with the students. Nor does a larger proportion of them perceive a high level of role conflict which would encourage them to discuss politics more often than teachers in schools of high socio-economic status. It appears however that teachers in schools of low SES are much more likely to be in a school where a majority of colleagues expect them to discuss politics (73% vs 32%) than teachers in schools of high SES (Table B.2.6a). Moreover, they are less likely to perceive a high degree of negative sanctions (35% vs 48%, Table B.2.6b).

We are thus justified in controlling the relationships between the socio-economic status of the schools and the propensity of teachers

TABLE 8.2.6

Colleagues' expectations, perceived negative sanctions, perceived role conflict, subjects and secondary school level, by socio-economic status of the school among French-speaking teachers in metropolitan areas

	Socio-economic status of the school	
	Low %	High %
A. Colleagues' expectations (1)		
- less than 50% are pro-discussion	26	68
- more than 50% are pro-discussion	73	32
	(141)	(318)
B. Index of perceived negative sanctions (2)		
- low	65	52
- high	35	48
	(108)	(206)
C. Perceived role conflict (3)		
- low	48	42
- high	52	58
	(108)	(206)
D. Secondary school level (4)		
- secondary I and II exclusively	50	61
- secondary I to V	19	14
- secondary III to V exclusively	31	25
	(133)	(288)
E. Subjects (5)		
- social studies and languages	41	42
- other subjects	59	58
	(585)	(490)

1 $\chi^2 = 65.86$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.38$.

2 $\chi^2 = 4.26$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.12$.

3 $\chi^2 = 0.93$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.33$, $\phi = 0.06$.

4 $\chi^2 = 4.33$, 2 d.f., $p = 0.11$, Cramer's $V = 0.10$.

5 $\chi^2 = 0.10$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.75$, $\phi = 0.01$.

TABLE 8.2.7

Percentage of teachers with a high propensity to discuss politics, by socio-economic status of the school and by perceived negative sanctions and perceived role conflict among French-speaking teachers of metropolitan areas

	Socio-economic status of the school	
	Low	High
A. Colleagues' expectations		
- less than 50% are pro-discussion (1)	61 (33)	38 (183)
- 50% or more are pro-discussion (2)	70 (94)	49 (91)
B. Index of perceived negative sanctions		
- low (3)	82 (68)	61 (104)
- high (4)	57 (37)	27 (97)

1 $\chi^2 = 4.87$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.16$.

2 $\chi^2 = 7.46$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.21$.

3 $\chi^2 = 7.49$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.22$.

4 $\chi^2 = 9.28$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.28$.

to discuss politics with students on both colleagues' expectations and the index of perceived negative sanctions. Table 8.2.7 shows that whether colleagues actually expect them to discuss politics or not, and whatever the degree of negative sanctions they perceive, teachers in schools of low SES discuss politics with students more often than those in schools of high SES. It can be concluded that the reason they discuss politics is not because they perceive fewer negative sanctions or because a larger proportion of them are actually expected to discuss politics by their colleagues than teachers in schools of high socio-economic status.

Since we cannot explain the higher propensity of teachers working in schools of low SES in metropolitan areas to discuss politics using the

TABLE 8.2.8

Teacher perception of the propensity of students to initiate political discussion, by socio-economic status of the school, among French-speaking teachers in metropolitan areas who discuss politics with students

Teacher perception of the propensity of students to initiate political discussion (1)	Socio-economic status of the school	
	Low %	High %
The teacher takes the initiative more often than students do	20	10
The teacher takes the initiative as often as the students do	31	24
The students take the initiative more often than the teacher does	49	65
	(92)	(136)

1 $\chi^2 = 6.97$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.17$.

variables we have examined up to now, we have to look for other explanations. Would it be because students in schools of low SES, contrary to what was assumed, are more likely to take the initiative to discuss politics with teachers than are students in schools of high SES. Table 8.2.8 shows that this explanation does not correspond to the perception teachers have of the situation. It appears that French-speaking teachers in metropolitan areas and in schools of high SES perceive that they are less likely to take the initiative themselves in discussing politics with the students than are those in schools of low SES. They also perceive that their students take the initiative more often than they do to a greater degree than do students of teachers of low SES. Thus it appears that teachers in schools of low SES are more likely to discuss politics with the students

because they deliberately decide to do so than are teachers in schools of high SES.

All these results encourage us to rather look for an explanation which would be related to teachers' pedagogical strategies in schools of low SES. Anderson's (1968) study of the growth of bureaucracy and impersonalization in US high schools provides us with some interesting observations which helped us to develop a possible explanation of our own results. The author had hypothesized that because of the higher incidence of discipline problems, retardation and lack of interest among students of low SES, the level of bureaucratic rules and of impersonalization would be higher in schools of low SES than in schools of high SES. Contrary to what he had expected, he found that the levels of bureaucratization and impersonalization in high schools was no higher in schools of low SES than was in schools of high SES. As a matter of fact, they were lower. He interpreted these unexpected results in the following way. Teachers and school administrators may use different means of defense in order to deal with the specific problems of schools of low SES: segregation of students into particular classes, tracks, and schools, differential treatment of students in grading and disciplining, the use of rules as levers in bargaining with recalcitrant students and their parents.

"There is evidence for still another defense mechanism used by teachers to control student behavior... In situations where superiors are highly dependent upon their relationships with subordinates in order to achieve their goals, formal authority will be eschewed in favor of more personal means of achieving compliance and cooperation. Thus teachers confronted with a body of students who are capable of seriously disrupting their classes may attempt to establish bonds of respect and liking, either to complement other means of defense or as substitutes for them. They attempt to personalize teaching, testing, and grading, consult with their

students more frequently, and try new techniques and curricula more readily than their colleagues who teach middle-class children." (p. 155)

Thus teachers' attempts to personalize their teaching in schools of low SES may be seen as a pedagogical strategy to deal with the problems of schools of low SES and to keep control of their classes.

Could not teachers' discussion of political affairs with the students be seen in the same perspective? Could it not represent one strategy for teachers to "reach" the students, to make their teaching more relevant and attractive, to catch the attention of students in schools of low SES? This interpretation of the higher propensity of French-speaking teachers in schools of low SES (in metropolitan areas) to discuss politics with the students focuses on the teachers' pedagogical strategies, although it is not based on empirical evidence. It is proposed as an hypothesis which could have been tested, had data been available.

8.3. Public or private status of the school

The characteristic of the school organization which we want to examine in relation to teachers' political discussions with the students is the public or private status of the school. Do public school teachers discuss politics more often with the students than do private school teachers? The reason we are interested in assessing the effect of this variable is that most of the controversies which have arisen in the last ten years in regard to teachers' political discussion with the students (and which we referred to in Chapter 1) have focused on public schools. Many felt that teachers' political discussion was not a "problem" in the

private schools, i.e. that it was mainly in the public schools that teachers discussed politics with the students and tended to "indoctrinate" them with ideas and ideologies that did not correspond to those of the parents. For this reason we are interested in examining the facts about this question.

It appears difficult to formulate a specific hypothesis on the effect of whether a school is public or private on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics. On the one hand, private school teachers tend to have a longer training, and we might think that they are more likely to discuss politics with the students because of this characteristic of their occupational backgrounds. On the other hand, the professional activities of private school teachers are often perceived as being submitted to closer control, which might inhibit them from adopting a behavior (with respect to political discussion with the students) which is not in accordance with the traditional political culture of the school. We have thus refrained from formulating a specific hypothesis on the effect of whether a school is public or private.

Public schools are administered by regional or local school boards, while private schools are owned by private corporations. Two types of private schools were included in our sample: (a) private vocational schools whose programs focus on specific vocational training (eg. commercial or technical training); (b) private schools whose programs focus on general education, do not offer vocational training, and are more selective in their recruitment. Many of the latter are former classical colleges, owned by religious communities. The data presented in Table 8.3.1 indicate that few teachers in our sample teach at private schools:

TABLE 8.3.1

Public or private status of schools where teachers work,
by school language

Status of the school (1)	French-speaking %	English-speaking %
Public school	85	96
Private school	15	4
	(1309)	(376)

1 $\chi^2 = 29.85$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.14$.

15% among French-speaking teachers and 4% among English-speaking teachers. Because of the very low proportion of English-speaking teachers in private schools, we will conduct the analysis of this variable only for French-speaking teachers. We should also take into account in our analysis the relationship between the public or private status and the socio-economic status of the school. Table 8.3.2 shows that there is no private school of low socio-economic status in our sample. The analysis will thus be conducted only with French-speaking teachers in schools of high SES.

Table 8.3.3 shows that French-speaking public school teachers do not discuss politics with the students more often than private school teachers. Contrary to what is often thought in the public, whether a school is public or private has no effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics.

If the public or private status of the school is not associated with the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with the students, is

TABLE 8.3.2

French-speaking teachers in public and private schools,
by socio-economic status of the school

Socio-economic status of the school (1)	Public schools %	Private schools %
Low	63	-
High	37 (987)	100 (154)

1 $\chi^2 = 210.08$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$, $\phi = 0.43$.

TABLE 8.3.3

Propensity to discuss politics by public or private status of
the school among French-speaking teachers in schools of high
socio-economic status

Propensity of teachers to discuss politics (1)	Public schools %	Private schools %
High	43	48
Low	57 (313)	52 (141)

1 $\chi^2 = 0.94$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.33$, $\phi = 0.05$.

this variable correlated with the teachers' political and educational orientations associated with teachers' behavior in regard to political discussion? Table 8.3.4a,b,c shows that this is not the case. Public school teachers do not participate more in politics than private school teachers, nor are they more liberal than private school teachers. Moreover,

TABLE 8.3.4

Teachers' political participation, liberalism-conservatism, conception of the goals of the school and training, by public or private status of the schools among French-speaking teachers of high socio-economic status

	Public schools %	Private schools %
A. Political participation (1)		
- high	42	34
- low	58	66
	(323)	(144)
B. Liberalism-conservatism (2)		
- conservatism	50	57
- liberalism	50	43
	(332)	(132)
C. Conception of the goals of the school		
Student-expressive goal (3)		
- agree	72	79
- disagree	28	21
	(332)	(146)
D. Duration of training (4)		
- 14 years or less	34	11
- 15 or 16 years	46	38
- 17 years or more	20	51
	(358)	(149)

1 $\chi^2 = 2.20$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.14$, $\phi = 0.07$.

2 $\chi^2 = 1.35$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.24$, $\phi = 0.06$.

3 $\chi^2 = 1.90$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.17$, $\phi = 0.07$.

4 $\chi^2 = 55.29$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.33$.

they do not differ from the private school teachers as far as their conception of the goal of the school is concerned. This last result is rather surprising, since many feel that public school teachers and private school teachers have different conceptions of the school.

Table 8.3.4d also presents data on the relationship between teacher training and the public or private status of the school. Private school teachers tend to have a longer training than public school teachers. It is then surprising not to find private schools teachers discussing more politics with the students than public school teachers. Would it be because private school teachers would perceive in their school more negative sanctions, would be less likely to be expected by their colleagues to discuss politics, or would have less opportunities to discuss politics, i.e. to teach older students in secondary I and II, and subjects that lend themselves less easily to political discussion? Table 8.3.5 shows it cannot be because private school teachers perceive more sanctions or are less likely to be expected by their colleagues to discuss politics with students. Nor it is because private school teachers have less opportunity to discuss politics. In actual fact, private school teachers appear to have more opportunity to discuss politics because a larger proportion of them tend to teach older students in secondary III, IV and V. A larger proportion of them do not, however, teach subjects that are more conducive to political discussion than do public school teachers.

TABLE 8.3.5

Colleagues' expectations, perceived negative sanctions,
secondary school level and subject taught, by public or
private status of the school among French-speaking
teachers in schools of high socio-economic status

	Public schools %	Private schools %
A. Colleagues' expectations (1)		
- less than 50% are pro-discussion	59	58
- 50% or more are pro-discussion	41	42
	(366)	(154)
B. Index of perceived negative sanctions (2)		
- low	50	44
- high	50	56
	(244)	(90)
C. Secondary school level (3)		
- secondary I and II exclusively	65	32
- secondary I to V	14	30
- secondary III, IV, V exclusively	21	38
	(336)	(148)
D. Subject taught (4)		
- social studies and languages	42	40
- other subject	58	60
	(348)	(142)

1 $\chi^2 = 0.00$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.98$, $\phi = 0.00$.

2 $\chi^2 = 0.60$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.43$, $\phi = 0.05$.

3 $\chi^2 = 43.40$, 2 d.f., $p < 0.05$, Cramer's $V = 0.30$.

4 $\chi^2 = 0.12$, 1 d.f., $p = 0.73$, $\phi = 0.01$.

Conclusion

The social and organizational context of the school does not appear to have a strong effect on the teacher's role as agent of political socialization. The summary of the results appears in Figure 6. We have come to the conclusion that two of our community and organizational context variables, community size or the rural-urban character of the school, and the status of private and public school, had no direct effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students. The rural-urban character of the community where the school is located has an effect however on teachers' political and educational orientations: teachers are more liberal and are more likely to agree with student-expressive goals for the school in metropolitan areas than in medium-sized towns, small towns or villages. They also tend to be more "qualified" than teachers in medium-sized and small towns, or in villages. Private school teachers do not differ from public school teachers in regard to their political and educational orientations, but tend to be more qualified than their public school colleagues.

The socio-economic status of the school or the social composition of the student body does have a direct effect however on teachers' political discussion. But contrary to what was expected, teachers who teach in schools in working-class districts discuss politics more often than those who teach in schools in middle-class districts. The relationship is maintained however only in schools located in metropolitan areas, and the association between the two variables is not a strong one since the phi correlation coefficient is only 0.09. We have looked for an explanation for this unexpected finding in the pedagogical strategy

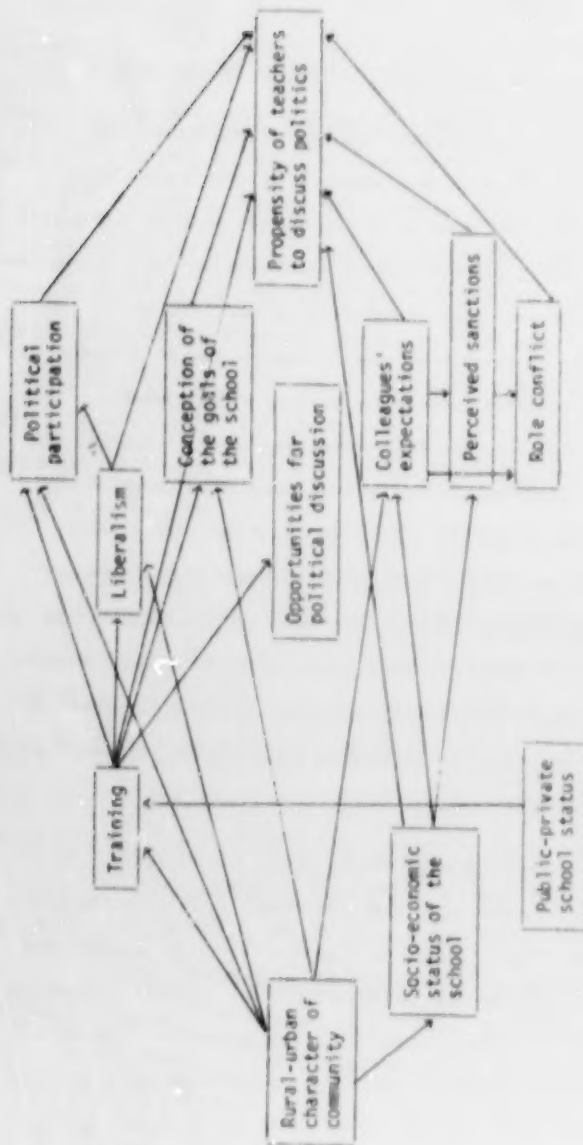


Figure 6: Relationships between the community and organizational characteristics of the school and the propensity of teachers to discuss politics, and other independent variables (French-speaking teachers)

which may be developed by teachers in schools of low socio-economic status to cope with the particular problems of teaching in such schools. We have wondered whether political discussions with the students could not represent an attempt to "reach" the students, by making their teaching more relevant and attractive in order to catch the students' attention. We have ruled out an explanation which would propose that teachers who teach in working-class districts discuss politics more often because they are more "politicized". They did not score any higher on the index of political participation than teachers who teach in schools located in middle-class districts. They are neither more liberal, or more "qualified" in terms of years schooling.

Our hypothesis that the community and organizational context of the school would have an effect on the negative sanctions teachers perceive in regard to political discussions on the level of role conflict they experience and on the actual expectations of their colleagues has been only partly confirmed by our results. There are no differences between public school and private school teachers when these variables are analyzed. And the socio-economic status of the school and the size of the community where the school is located have an effect only on colleagues' expectations and perceived sanctions. Teachers in schools located in villages and in working class districts are more likely to work in a school where their colleagues expect them to discuss politics. And teachers in schools of low socio-economic status perceive fewer negative sanctions in regard to political discussion than teachers in schools of high socio-economic status.

In short, among the community and organizational characteristics of the school which we have analyzed, only the socio-economic status of the school has an effect on teachers as agents of political socialization. We have also seen, however, that some of these variables may have a moderate effect on some other independent variables such as political and educational orientations, duration of teacher training, and the variables related to the teachers' network of interaction.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

The research orientation of this study on teachers as agents of political socialization focused on their explicit role in the process and more specifically on the extent of their overt political discussions with students. The objectives of the study were (a) to identify the circumstances under which teachers intervene explicitly in the students' political socialization in school, and (b) to determine whether or not teachers' political discussions with students represent an important process of political socialization in school.

Most of the findings have been summarized at the end of each chapter. However a number of results are emphasized in this conclusion in order to indicate the dynamics of the circumstances under which teachers talk about politics, to integrate the main findings around the conceptual framework used throughout the study to look at their implications, to point out limits of the study and questions that it may suggest for further research.

9.1 Circumstances under which teachers discuss politics with students

The present study was based on the premise that the

behavior of the teacher as an agent of political socialization depends on his political and educational orientations, on his social and occupational backgrounds, on situational elements related to his immediate network of interactions, and finally on the larger community and organizational contexts in which he has to perform his role.

We hypothesized that the behavior of teachers as agents of political socialization would depend on the degree of their political participation, their liberal or conservative orientations, their identification with a political party, their conception of the goals of the school, their propensity to affirm their status as professionals within the school organization. It is in this perspective that we tried to reconstitute the configuration of political and educational orientations with which the teachers' propensity to discuss politics is associated.

The socializing experiences to which the teachers had been exposed in their family of origin, in the teacher training institution they attended and within the teaching profession itself were also expected to influence their behavior as agents of political socialization. It is in this perspective that we tried to assess the effect of the socio-economic status of their family, of the duration of their training and of their teaching experience on their propensity to discuss politics with students and on their political and educational orientations.

With respect to the effect of the teacher's network of interaction, we assumed that the performance of a social role does not only depend on the personal role definition of the incumbent of a position or solely on the socializing influences to which he has been submitted. The incumbent of a social position has to conform to a certain extent to culturally patterned expectations. If he does not, he will be subject to sanctions from the part of members of his role-set with whom he interacts on a day to day basis. We therefore hypothesized that teachers would be more likely to discuss politics with students when their colleagues, the principal, the students and the parents actually expect them to do so, when they perceive in their immediate environment less negative sanctions for such behavior on their part, and when they perceive conflicting expectations originating from different groups.

We also assumed that the incumbent of a social position does not necessarily conform or react "mechanically" to culturally patterned expectations and sanctions originating from the members of his role-set. He might be influenced by situational inducements, constraints or opportunities that might have an effect independent of that of the culturally patterned expectations and sanctions. We hypothesized that a teacher would be more likely to discuss politics with students if he had the opportunity to teach older students and to teach subjects (social studies and language) that lend themselves more easily to political discussions.

Finally we thought that the community and organizational contexts in which teachers have to perform their role of agents of political socialization would affect their propensity to discuss politics. This prompted us to hypothesize that teachers in a metropolitan area, and within a metropolitan area in middle-class school districts would be more likely to discuss politics with students. We also formulated the hypothesis that teachers would not behave the same way in regard to political discussions if they taught in private schools or in public schools.

If we except some instances when the independent variables showed no or low relationships with the dependent variables, the model of analysis we proposed has allowed us to identify rather clearly circumstances under which teachers participate explicitly in political discussions with their students, and to point out elements that do contribute to shape the teachers' role as agents of political socialization.

Educational and political orientations. As expected, teachers' political discussions with students appeared to be part of a larger configuration of political and educational orientations. Teachers accept more easily to depart from the traditional norm in regard to their explicit interventions in the students' political learning, when they are more active in politics, more liberal, and when they adhere to a conception of the goals of the school according to which the school should put more emphasis on the development of the students' personality than on their training for a specific

occupation. Moreover liberal teachers are more likely to be actively involved in politics and to favor student-expressive goals for the school than conservative teachers. This means that political and educational orientations form a configuration within which political orientations tend to reinforce the effects of educational orientations on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics.

Social and occupational backgrounds. Our results show that the behavior of teachers as agents of political socialization does not depend as much as we had expected on the various socializing experiences to which they have been exposed in their family of origin, in the teacher training institutions and, after their training, within the teaching profession.

Teachers do not discuss politics more often with students when they originate from middle-class or working-class families. Nor do their political and educational orientations vary with the socio-economic status of their family of origin. We are inclined to think that the socializing influence of the teachers' social stratum of origin is too remote from their present situation and experience to have an effect on their behavior as agents of political socialization, and that other agencies of socialization may have counterbalanced the socializing influence of their family of origin.

We found that the more "qualified" teachers (in terms of their years of schooling) discuss politics more often with students than the less qualified. The behavior of teachers as agents of political socialization depends partly on their socialization to the teaching profession, at least in its formal training component. It is as if teachers with longer training felt more confident, surer of their status and more assertive in their role of agents of political socialization.

Teachers' training affects their propensity to discuss politics in two other ways. First, the more qualified teachers tend to be more liberal, to participate more in politics and they are also more likely to agree with student-expressive goals for the school. However the effect of teacher training on their behavior is independent of their political and educational orientations. Secondly, teacher training appears to condition the access to one opportunity for political discussion: the more qualified teachers are more likely to teach older students of the higher secondary school levels (III to V). And we know that teachers who have this opportunity discuss more politics with students. Teacher training also conditions the effect of having this opportunity on their propensity to discuss politics: on the one hand teachers do not take advantage of this opportunity, when they are less qualified (14 years of schooling or less); on the other hand teachers tend to discuss politics with

students whatever the secondary school level they teach, when they are more qualified.

It has appeared though that the socializing experience to which teachers are exposed within the teaching profession after their period of formal training has no effect on their propensity to discuss politics. We had hypothesized that teachers would be less inclined to discuss politics when exposed to a teaching environment whose traditional political culture did not value teachers' explicit interventions in the political socialization of students. Contrary to what was hypothesized, teachers do not discuss politics with students less if they are more experienced. The more experienced teachers are also more likely to be conservative and to participate less in politics. Thus the teachers professional socialization after their entry within the profession does not seem to have the direct effect we anticipated on their behavior as agents of political socialization.

Expectations, perceived sanctions and role conflict. We found that teachers are more inclined to discuss politics when their colleagues and the principal of the school actually expect them to discuss politics, when they perceive fewer negative sanctions in regard to political discussions in the milieu where they teach, and when they experience role conflict, i.e. when they perceive that there is no consensus on whether or not they should discuss politics with students.

or when they feel cross-pressured in regard to political discussion with students. These results illustrate how teachers as agents of political socialization may be influenced by their immediate network of interaction. But such results have to be qualified in order to show how and under what conditions the network of interaction influences the behavior of teachers.

The analysis has revealed in regard to the actual expectations of members of the role-set that teachers do not attach as much importance to the expectations of students and parents as to those of colleagues and the principal. As a matter of fact students' expectations and parents' expectations have no effect on their propensity to discuss politics. Our interpretation was that, on the one hand, teachers attach more importance to the expectations of the members of their role-set who are in a position of power or authority (this is the case of the principal and colleagues compared to parents and students), and, on the other hand, teachers attach less importance to the expectations of the members of their role-set who have less opportunities to observe them or to be in close contact with them (this is the case of parents compared to colleagues and the principal).

The analysis also showed that expectations of members of the role-set may condition the level of negative sanctions teachers perceive and the degree of role conflict they experience. Indeed, teachers perceive less negative sanctions but feel more cross-pressured

when colleagues expect them to discuss politics with students.

Teachers perceive that several groups or agents disapprove of them discussing politics with students. And they discuss politics less often with students when they perceive a high degree of negative sanctions. But the analysis has revealed that teachers may not be as vulnerable to such pressures originating from their immediate environment as it might appear at first glance since they also take into account the perception they have of their own role as agents of political socialization. On this matter we indicated that the teachers' own role definition has a stronger effect on their behavior than the negative sanctions they perceive. These results could reflect an attitude of professional autonomy which could encourage the teachers to discuss politics even if they perceive a high degree of negative sanctions.

Far from abstaining from political discussion, teachers who experience role conflict in regard to political discussion with students tend, as hypothesized, to discuss politics more often than those who do not. The analysis also revealed however that the perceived role conflict had no effect on the pro-discussion teachers. This means that this group of teachers do not "need" to perceive a lack of consensus on teachers' political discussion to actually discuss politics more often with students. On the other hand, it is as if anti-discussion teachers thought that it was more acceptable to actually discuss politics with students when they perceive that various groups or agents do not agree on whether or not they should play an active role in students' political socialization.

If it is the anti-discussion teachers who take advantage of a situation of role conflict in order to discuss politics more often with students, we could be allowed to conclude that they do not discuss politics more often with students because of their wish to change the traditional political culture of the school. We are rather inclined to think that anti-discussion teachers discuss more often politics with students, when they experience role conflict, because they might be persuaded by students to do so. As a matter of fact the analysis has shown that anti-discussion teachers who do discuss politics with students report in a greater proportion than do pro-discussion teachers that students take the initiative in the discussion more often than they themselves do.

Opportunities for political discussions. We had assumed that the behavior of teachers as agents of political socialization would not be entirely dependent on the culturally patterned expectations and sanctions which they observed or perceived in their immediate network of interaction. We then hypothesized that teachers could be influenced by the actual opportunities to discuss politics. In fact teachers discuss politics more often when they have the opportunity to teach students of the three upper levels, and also when they happen to teach subjects such as social studies and language which lend themselves more easily to political discussion.

However not all teachers who have these opportunities really take advantage of them. The analysis showed that it depends also on their level of qualification, their political orientations, the negative sanctions they perceive, the expectations of their colleagues and their own role definition. For example, the more qualified, the more politicized

teachers and those whom a majority of colleagues expect to discuss politics, do not "need" these opportunities to discuss politics more often with students. On the other hand, the less qualified and the conservative teachers, those who perceive a high degree of negative sanctions and the anti-discussion teachers are less likely to take advantage of these opportunities to discuss politics more often with students.

These results confirm only partially the theoretical status we had assigned to the variables "opportunities for political discussion". The effect of these opportunities on the behavior of teachers is not totally independent of the culturally patterned expectations and sanctions attached to the teacher's role in regard to political discussion. Teachers do not take advantage of these opportunities when they perceive a high degree of negative sanctions and they take advantage of them only when their colleagues do not expect them to discuss politics. This means that the effect of the opportunities for political discussion is also dependent on the effect of culturally patterned expectations and sanctions teachers perceive in their milieu.

Community and organizational characteristics of the school.

Teachers as agents of political socialization are not influenced as much as we had predicted by the organizational and community characteristics of the school where they teach.

We had assumed that, in metropolitan areas, the social control of the members of the community over the teachers would be more diffuse than in medium-sized and small towns or villages, and that it would have

been more easy for the teachers to depart from the traditional norm in regard to political discussion. But teachers do not discuss politics more often in metropolitan areas than in medium-sized and small towns. This is rather surprising when we observe that teachers in metropolitan areas have a longer training and are more likely to be liberal and to agree with student-expressive goals for the school. But the analysis has also revealed that these teachers participate less in politics, are less expected by their colleagues to discuss politics than teachers in medium-sized and small towns.

However in metropolitan areas, teachers have a higher propensity to discuss politics with students in working-class than in middle-class school districts. This is an unexpected finding. In our attempt to explain this phenomenon, we found that it was not because teachers in working-class districts were more politicized, more qualified, or perceive less negative sanctions. We formulated the hypothesis that it might be because, in these school districts, teachers encounter more pedagogical problems related to the social composition of the student body. In this context, teachers could perhaps use political discussion as a strategy to make their teaching more attractive and relevant, to retain the attention of their students, and to keep better control of their class in order to deal more adequately with the pedagogical problems they encounter.

The organizational setting in which teachers work does not seem to influence the teachers in their role as agents of political socialization. However this might be due to the indicator which was used

to measure it. We had formulated no specific hypothesis concerning the effect of the status of public or private school on the behavior of teachers. On the one hand, we were inclined to think that private school teachers would be more qualified, and because of that would be more likely to discuss politics. On the other hand, we thought that private schools could have a more traditional approach to education and that their teachers would identify more closely with the traditional political culture of the school than public school teachers. Actually, public school teachers do not discuss politics more often with students than private school teachers. We found that private school teachers tend to be more qualified than public school teachers, but that they share the same conception of the goals of the school (at least on the indicators we have used to measure it). They are neither more conservative nor less politicized. And they do not perceive more negative sanctions in regard to political discussion than public school teachers.

Contrary to what we had expected, the effect of the organizational and community contexts on the expectations of colleagues, the perceived sanctions and role conflict appeared rather limited. Teachers do not feel more cross-pressured (role conflict) in metropolitan school districts than in medium-sized or small school districts; in middle-class school districts than in working-class school districts; in public than in private schools. Public school teachers do not perceive more negative sanctions nor are they expected in a greater proportion by their colleagues to discuss politics than are private school teachers. The only situational elements related to the immediate network of

interaction associated with the context of the community are the following:

- (a) teachers perceive less negative sanctions in working-class districts,
- (b) teachers are more likely to be expected by their colleagues to discuss politics in working-class districts and in small towns than in middle-class districts and in metropolitan areas.

In summary here are the circumstances under which teachers tend to participate explicitly in the political socialization of students. Teachers on the whole operate in a school environment where the principals, the parents, the students and their own colleagues are divided on whether or not a teacher should discuss politics with students. The analysis showed that their propensity to discuss politics depends:

- on the political and educational orientations they have as individuals;
- on their socialization to the profession, or at least on the duration of their formal training, which also influences what they think about politics and education;
- on the support they receive from their colleagues and principal, the sanctions they perceive in the immediate network of interaction, and, to a lesser extent, on the larger community context where the school is located;
- on opportunities they have to discuss politics. However whether they take advantage of these opportunities or not depends on their political orientations, their training, the sanctions they perceive and the support they receive from their colleagues.

This means that if teachers have appeared rather reluctant to discuss politics, it is not only because they perceive that many groups or agents disapprove of them discussing politics but because they do not share the political and educational orientations that would encourage them to discuss politics, and also because of their lesser training. A longer training would presumably allow them to internalize these orientations more fully.

Large scale and systematic differences have nonetheless appeared among teachers in regard to political discussion. The teaching staff is not homogeneous. One could wonder if the heterogeneity observed among the teachers in regard to political discussion with students does not reflect a certain looseness in the occupational culture of the teaching profession. Unclear occupational orientations with respect to teacher's role in the process of socialization at school would allow them to define for themselves various orientations. But this situation could also reflect a change in the traditional occupational culture of the teachers in regard to their role in the political socialization of students. Such a change being accepted by some teachers and rejected by others.

However one could wonder if the heterogeneity of teachers' behavior would not persist even if their occupational culture provided clear orientations in regard to political discussion, since the behavior of teachers is far from being conditioned only by the normative orientations of their occupational culture. In other words, it would appear that the

heterogeneity observed reflects the many forces in the shaping of the teacher's role in political socialization.

9.2. Importance of political discussion in political socialization at school

Teachers' political discussion with students did not appear as an important element in political socialization at school. The analysis showed that teachers do not tend to use overt political discussion with students very extensively as a mean to enhance students' political learning. They actually discuss politics less often than they think they should. When they do discuss politics, they tend to do so out of class, in the course of discussions unrelated to the subject they teach, refraining from becoming personally involved in such discussions and from expressing their own opinions.

The image teachers have in regard to political discussion with students is one of reluctance and ambivalence. They do not have a high propensity to discuss politics with students, they are divided on whether or not they should engage in such behavior, although they tend to consider the school as an important agency of political socialization. Teachers then appear more imbued with the orientations of the traditional political culture of the school than with those of the new pedagogical trends and with emerging elements of a school political culture which tend to legitimate a more active and overt involvement of teachers in the political socialization process.

These results do not necessarily mean that the school is not an important agency of political socialization. For it is not only through the teachers' political discussion with students that the school may contribute to the students' political learning. We identified in Chapter 1 other elements of the school through which students may learn political orientations: the curriculum, the classroom ritual life, the extra-curricular activities, etc. Teachers may play an important mediating role in regard to these elements. The results only indicate that teachers do not tend to use overt political discussion with students very extensively as a pedagogical device to further students' political learning.

This conclusion is however in sharp contrast with the public image of Quebec teachers who are perceived to engage extensively and overtly in discussion with students over political affairs. According to this image, French-speaking teachers would discuss politics with students more often than English-speaking teachers because they would tend to be more militant. So would the public school teachers compared to the private school teachers. Teachers who identify with the Parti Québécois would also be more inclined to discuss politics with students because they would presumably tend to indoctrinate students with independentist ideas. None of these perceptions have been confirmed by our results. French-speaking teachers discuss politics with students less often than English-speaking teachers. There is no statistically significant differences between public and private school teachers. And

teachers who voted for the Parti Québécois do not discuss politics with students more often than teachers who voted for other political parties. The analysis of the teachers' identification with a political party has only revealed that the teachers who identify with a political party, whatever this party may be, are more likely to have a high propensity to discuss politics with students. This study could then contribute to rectify some of the false images of teachers which have underlined the public controversy over the subject of teachers' political discussion with students in recent years.

One could wonder whether these conclusions on the rather low propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students might not be related to two limits of the measure of this variable. First, the measure is based on a set of questions in which teachers were asked whether they discuss political affairs with students without specifying what was meant by "political affairs" or without asking them what they themselves were referring to. Teachers may have referred only to the affairs of the state or even only to partisan politics, and interpreted the terms in a restrictive way. Or they may have assigned a broader meaning to the expression "political affairs" which could have referred to the definition of the objectives or to the elaboration of the policies of the society, to the ways those policies are defined and implemented, and to the conflicts surrounding their definition and implementation. Whether they have assigned one or the other meaning to the expression "political affairs" may have affected their answers to the questions measuring the propensity to discuss politics. We tend to think that

teachers may have interpreted the expression "political affairs" in a restrictive way. If this was the case then our results would tend to underestimate their propensity to discuss politics. However, the teachers' perception of what is politics has to be explored more fully, as we will propose later in our questions for further research.

The second limit is related to the fact that the measure is based on the teachers' own reports of their political discussions with students. One could wonder whether teachers could not have been tempted to understate their propensity to talk politics, especially in the context of a public controversy on the teachers' role in political education. This is plausible since their reporting of political discussions could be perceived either to threaten their individual careers or to be used against them collectively.

Important limits to the measure of the propensity of teachers to discuss politics must be acknowledged. What was in fact measured was not so much the actual behavior of the teacher as their propensity to discuss politics. It is then quite possible that teachers may have understated their propensity to talk politics or would have concealed it entirely. We do not have any external validation data to determine exactly whether or not the behavior of teachers corresponds actually to their reports about political discussion. If a subsequent study was to be conducted again on this topic, it would be advisable to measure the propensity of teachers to discuss politics directly from a content

analysis of the observation of the behavior of teachers. Or perhaps it would be possible (as Bennett (1976) did in his research on teaching style) to verify from the observation of the actual behavior of a sub-sample of teachers whether the measure of the propensity to discuss politics based on verbal report corresponds to that obtained from the observation of their classroom behavior. This was not possible in the context of this secondary analysis.

But perhaps it is possible for the researcher to point to the direction in which the results could have been affected by this caveat? In an attempt to assess the effect of under-reporting on the results, we proceeded to examine more specifically the available data that could bear on this problem.

If teachers have under-reported their political discussions, it is allowed to expect that those who could be more likely to understate their political discussions would be those who perceive a high degree of negative sanctions. Since we have a measure of the perceived negative sanctions, it should be possible to assess at least in part the effect of possible understatement and to determine how it would affect the results.

For the purpose of this analysis, we assumed that all those who scored high on the index of perceived negative sanctions have actually under-reported their political discussions, so that our measure of the perceived negative sanctions could be interpreted as a measure of the propensity of teachers to understate their political discussion.

The analysis had already revealed (cf. Chapter 6) that when they perceive less negative sanctions in regard to political discussions, teachers discuss politics more often (64% vs 36%, Table 6.2.3). This would mean that, should our assumption of under-reporting be valid, we would observe a higher propensity of teachers to discuss politics with students than our previous analysis indicated. In other words, political discussion would have appeared as a more important element of political socialization at school.

Let us then examine what effects an under-reporting of political discussion would have on the findings with respect to the relationships between the independent variables included in our model of analysis and the propensity of teachers to discuss politics by controlling these relationships on the degree of negative sanctions which teachers perceive.

The results of this analysis are presented in Table A-7, Appendix B. They show that, among teachers who perceive a low degree of negative sanctions (that is under our current assumption, among those who are less likely to under-report their political discussion),

- (a) the relationships between the dependent variable and the independent variables would be maintained in the case of 9 out of 11 independent variables; the two independent variables for which the relationship would not be maintained are the index of liberalism-conservatism and the perceived role conflict;

(b) the intensity of the relationships between 6 of these 9 independent variables and the dependent variables would even be strengthened, while it would remain at the same level in the case of 2 other variables (duration of training and opportunity to teach higher secondary school levels). In only one case (socio-economic status of the school), would it slightly decrease.

In short what this analysis shows is that if we assume that all the teachers who perceive a high degree of negative sanctions would actually under-state their political discussions, the effect of under-reporting would have brought us to under-estimate both the propensity of teachers to discuss politics and the importance of political discussions in the political socialization at school. But the effect of under-reporting on the relationships which we found between the various independent variables of the model of analysis and the dependent variables would have been not only to confirm these relationships in the case of 9 out of 11 variables, but to increase the likelihood that these nine independent variables have an effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics.

Now, without completely restricting the scope of our assumption, let us emphasize that these conclusions have been reached under the strictest conditions, i.e. assuming that all teachers who perceive a high degree of negative sanctions would actually under-report their political discussions with students. There are some indications

that this might not be the case. Indeed we found in Chapter 6 (Table 6.2.3) that 36% of the teachers reported that they discuss politics with students even when they perceive a high degree of negative sanctions. Moreover the analysis of the two variables whose relationships with the propensity of teachers to discuss politics disappear when teachers perceive a high degree of negative sanctions indicates that liberal teachers and those who feel cross-pressured (role conflict) in regard to political discussion discuss more often politics with students only when they perceived a high degree of negative sanctions. This means that all teachers whom we have assumed would under-report their political discussions would not actually under-report them. Some of them could actually discuss more often politics with students when they are liberal and when they precisely perceive that there is no consensus on the question. Finally the analysis revealed that the teachers' role definition in regard to political discussions had a stronger effect on their propensity to discuss politics than the negative sanctions they perceived (Table 6.2.4). This means that teachers would not be totally vulnerable to sanctions.

This analysis suggests that the effect of the perceived negative sanctions is problematic and should not be interpreted only that teachers would tend to under-report their political discussions. We certainly have to consider the possibility that teachers could under-report their political discussions for fear of being blamed or of endangering their career within the school system. But we also have to consider two other possibilities: (a) teachers discuss politics

with students even if they perceive a high degree of negative sanctions, particularly when they are liberal and perceive that there is no consensus in their milieu in regard to political discussions; (b) teachers could "self-censure" themselves and actually not discuss politics with students in order to conform to actual expectations concerning their role as agents of political socialization. In other words, if teachers discuss politics less often with students when they perceive negative sanctions, it might not be only because they under-report their political discussion. It might as well be because they self-censure themselves and actually do not discuss politics with students. If this is the case the effect of under-reporting would be less important than it has appeared previously. But we do not have any empirical evidence to establish it.

Finally this analysis brings to the fore a potentially useful variable (the propensity of teachers to "self-censure" themselves) to consider in subsequent attempts to assess the effects of both the perceived negative sanctions and under-reporting. This appears as one of our suggested questions for further research.

9.3 Questions for further research

The analysis has contributed to identify circumstances under which teachers play their role as agents of political socialization, and, to a certain extent, assess the importance of overt political

discussions as an element of political socialization in schools. This is not to say that we have explained all of the variance observed in the dependent variable. The secondary nature of our data analysis did not permit us to even account for the substantial amount of variance that we would have wished. The analysis however, in addition to identifying circumstances under which teachers talk about politics, contributed to point to variables that would be worth investigating in further studies on the subject.

We already suggested that it would be relevant to measure and to analyze the teachers' propensity to censure themselves, i.e. refrain from political discussions with students even if they consider that it is part of the teacher's role to do so. We also indicated in the previous section that it would be relevant to reconstitute what teachers meant by "politics" or by "political affairs".

Such a study should not be limited however to teachers' perceptions of what politics is, but extended to the whole political culture of teachers. We have often referred in this report to the traditional political culture of the school and to emerging trends in the teachers' political culture. We even explored some aspects of that culture, the political participation and ideological orientations in terms of liberalism or conservatism. But a more systematic and more complete study of the teachers' political culture should be undertaken. The study should not be limited to the teachers' interventions (overt or

covert) in the political socialization at school nor to their level of political participation or their ideological orientations. It should also explore, in addition to their perceptions of politics, their perceptions of the political process, of the structure of power in society, their perceptions of the relationships between the polity and the social structure, between the polity and the school system, their familiarity with political issues, their perceptions of social problems, their political trust and sense of political efficacy, etc. The study should also try to determine how teachers define their role as ordinary citizens, and what their perceptions of the role of the school as an agency of political socialization are (and not only how important they think it is). It would be interesting also to learn about their perception of the school system as a political sub-system, about the perception of the position teachers occupy in this sub-system, (as individuals and as a group), and finally, about the role of the teachers' unions in the political process of the school system.

In other words, the political culture of the teachers should be more completely explored in all its components. It would be interesting to study their political culture in an historical perspective and in relation with the predominant ideologies of the different groups who control the school system. It would also be relevant to explore, as Lightfoot (1973) did, the relations between the political culture of the teachers and their pedagogical values and strategies, in order to see whether their political culture influences their pedagogical orientations.

The behavior of teachers as agents of political socialization, however, is not influenced, as we have seen, only by the political orientations they have as individuals. The teachers' orientation as professionals within the school bureaucracy is one of the variables which we think could have an effect on the teachers' propensity to discuss politics, even if it has not been possible to measure it as a variable adequately from the available data (cf. Chapter 5).

This orientation refers to the autonomy which characterizes members of an occupational group in the performance of their role because they have been submitted to a type of training in which they are supposed to have internalized the norms concerning their task, and because of the patterns of collegial authority and control which tend to characterize the functioning of the group, or which the members claim to have developed within the group. If one could wonder to what extent teachers are actually characterized by such a professional orientation within the context of the school bureaucracy, one would recognize that an ideology of professionalism has tended to develop among teachers, and that they tend to claim the status of professionals (Corwin, 1965; Dandurand, 1970) within the school organization. Not only this has become a major concern of the teachers, but the teachers' associations have even elaborated political strategies and entered power struggles with school administrators and parents in order to gain more power as professionals within the school system and in the larger social context of the school system.

The fact that teachers belong to an occupational group which not only shares these orientations but develops strategies to affirm them, could influence them in the performance of their role as agents of political socialization. They could want to intervene explicitly in the political socialization of students if they believed that it is part of their role as professional educators to do so, and even if the school administrators, the parents or other groups or agents would disapprove of such behavior.

The teaching style of teachers is another variable which which should be part of a model to explain the propensity of teachers to discuss politics. The teaching style, in the model of analysis of Dunkin and Biddle to which we have referred in Chapter 2, would appear as a "process variable" which focuses on the activities of the classroom, on the interaction between teachers and students, and on the control of the classroom, thus presumably bearing on such an activity as political discussion with students.

Bennett (1976) identified six dimensions of teaching style: classroom management and organization, teacher control and sanctions, curriculum content and planning, instructional strategies, motivational techniques and assessment procedure. The author has also elaborated a typology of teaching styles. A teacher is characterized by a traditional teaching style when he tends to define his role in terms of diffusion of knowledge, to maintain a separation between subjects, to put emphasis

on academic standards, grades, regular testing and competition, to attribute a passive role to students in curricular activities, to confine teaching to the classroom and to put little emphasis on creative expression.

A teacher is said to have a progressive teaching style when he tends to define his role as guide to educational experiences, to integrate subjects, to put emphasis on creative expression, on cooperative group work, intrinsic motivation, to promote learning by discovery techniques, to put little emphasis on conventional academic standards, and to encourage students to participate in curriculum planning.

We believe that the way teachers manage their classroom could have an effect on their propensity to discuss politics. We formulate the hypothesis that "progressive" teachers would be more likely to discuss politics with students than "traditional" teachers, because the integration of subjects would give them more opportunity to discuss politics, because students' participation in curriculum planning could allow them to bring in the classroom questions or themes which have a political significance, and perhaps also because teachers' themselves would be more likely to bring in the classroom some political questions that would make their teaching more relevant. It would be interesting to test this hypothesis in relation with the socio-economic status of the school, since it originated from our attempt to find an explanation for the variations in the propensity of teachers to discuss politics observed between teachers of working-class and middle-class districts.

There is another aspect of high school organization of which it would be interesting to assess the effect on the behavior of teachers as agents of political socialization, and which would perhaps reveal that the organizational context of the school could have a stronger effect on the propensity of teachers to discuss politics than the one we observed in Chapter 8 in regard to the status of public or private school. Perhaps we could tentatively label this variable "type of student supervision". In some secondary schools, a "tutor" is assigned to each student, whose function is to assess the progress of students in all subjects, to control absences, to contact parents, and to talk with students about their problems. In other secondary schools, a home-room teacher is assigned to a group of students, whose function is about the same as that of the "tutor", except that the home-room teacher is more likely to supervise students in groups than individually. Finally, in other schools, there is no "tutor" or home-room teacher. In these schools, the supervision of students is more diffused and less personalized.

We are inclined to think that teachers of the first two "categories" are more likely to discuss politics with students than those of the third, because they are more likely to develop closer personal relations with students. In such a context the teachers should accept to discuss controversial questions which they would be less likely to discuss within the context of more impersonal relationships.

The analysis showed that the more qualified teachers discuss politics with students more often than the less qualified in terms of years of schooling. It would be interesting not only to measure, as we did, the effect of the duration of training but also that of the type or content of training. To what extent is the behavior of teachers as agents of political socialization dependent on the subject in which they have been trained as "specialists", and by the content of the teacher training program in which they were enrolled? These elements could provide a more precise idea of the effects of teachers' professional socialization on the way they perform their role as agents of political socialization in schools.

Another research orientation which would be interesting to develop rests on a social psychological view of teaching as personal influence. How and through which processes do teachers exert an influence on the learning of students (and more particularly on the students' political learning)? This perspective of analysis on teachers' influence has been proposed by Bidwell (1973). In this perspective the teachers' management of sanctions in the classroom and the school have a central explanatory role. According to the author, however, the personal influence perspective does not take into consideration the effect of the social organization of teaching, and this approach should be modified accordingly. This perspective of analysis would contribute to enlighten the dynamics of the teachers' mediation role not only in the school political socialization process but also in other

school learning processes.

If, in our view, it is important to conduct further research in the various directions we have indicated, the study of the effects of the teachers' intervention in the school political socialization process represents a major objective of the research on teachers as agents of political socialization. The great complexity (and perhaps premature character at this stage of the development of the research on the topic) of this kind of research and the difficulties to measure and partial out the specific effects of the teachers' intervention, that of the school in general, and of other influences on student learning, should not deter the researchers in the field from undertaking larger studies, especially when the various components of the teacher's role in political socialization will have been adequately documented.

APPENDIX A

Teachers questionnaire

The teachers questionnaire administered in the Spring 1972 is reproduced here. The reader will recall that only the parts of the complete questionnaire that have actually been used for this research are reproduced. The few questions taken from the students, parents, and principals questionnaires that were used for the analysis have also been reproduced in this appendix.

Teachers questionnaire

First and foremost we would like to emphasize that the information you give us will remain strictly confidential. Your answers will be counted among those of the 2,000 teachers who will complete the same questionnaire. The results published will represent all these teachers, and in no case will the contents of any individual questionnaire be disclosed.

Once you have completed your questionnaire, we ask you to return it to our interviewer in a sealed, unidentified envelope. A serial number for purposes of analysis will be given to every questionnaire received, but it will not be possible to use this number to identify the person who filled out the questionnaire. The anonymity of each respondent will thus be assured.

You may omit any question you would prefer not to answer, but please answer them all if you possibly can.

1. Sex:

Male

Female

2. In what age group are you?

20 years or less

21 to 25 years

26 to 30 years

31 to 35 years

36 to 40 years

41 to 45 years

46 to 50 years

51 to 55 years

56 years or more

3. How many years' schooling are you officially credited with for salary purposes?

12 years or less

13 years

14 years

15 years

16 years

17 years

18 years

19 years

20 years or more

4. What is your fathers' job or occupation?

IF HE HAS MORE THAN ONE DESCRIBE THE ONE AT WHICH HE SPENDS MOST TIME. IF HE IS OUT OF WORK, RETIRED OR DECEASED, DESCRIBE WHAT HE USED TO DO MAINLY

BE AS SPECIFIC AS YOU CAN IN DESCRIBING HIS JOB, AND INDICATE THE KIND OF PLACE WHERE HE WORKS (WORKED)

Examples:

job: press operator
place: in a metal workshop

job: insurance salesman
place: in a large insurance company

What is (was) his job?

In what kind of place does (did) he work?

5. How many years' teaching experience are you officially credited with, including the present academic year?

- 1 year
- 2 or 3 years
- 4 or 5 years
- 6 to 10 years
- 11 to 15 years
- 16 to 25 years
- 26 to 35 years
- 36 years and over

6. How many hours a week do you spend teaching at each of the following levels?

Hours' teaching per week

Secondary I	_____
Secondary II	_____
Secondary III	_____
Secondary IV	_____
Secondary V	_____

7. What two subjects do you presently spend most time teaching?

CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ONLY IN EACH COLUMN

	MAIN SUBJECT	SUBSIDIARY SUBJECT
German	01	01
English	02	02
Domestic science	03	03
Art	04	04
Biology	05	05
Religious knowledge	06	06
Chemistry	07	07
Physical Education	08	08
Spanish	09	09
French	10	10
Geography	11	11
Greek	12	12
History	13	13
Latin	14	14
Mathematics	15	15
Music	16	16
Physics	17	17
Book-keeping	18	18
Science	19	19
Vocational training (SPECIFY) _____		
_____	20	20
Technical training (SPECIFY) _____		
_____	21	21
Other (SPECIFY) _____		
_____	22	22

8. Aside from your actual teaching, do you spend one hour or more per week at any of the following activities?

	YES	NO
Extra-curricular activities	1	2
Union work	1	2
Other educational responsibilities	1	2

9. How many students are there in your school?

less than 225
 225 to 399
 400 to 599
 600 to 799
 800 to 999
 1,000 to 1,199
 1,200 to 1,799
 1,800 to 2,499
 2,500 and more

10. The following statements relate to changes which some people would like to see realized. Indicate whether you would like to see each of these changes:

	YES	NO
a) School should become increasingly a place where one learns to think for oneself and even to question the ideas held by one's parents and teachers	1	2
b) The police should be given wider powers	1	2
c) Public demonstrations and protests should be banned	1	2
d) Once a government is elected, people should stop checking up on it and criticizing it all the time	1	2

11. If there were provincial elections today, for what party would you vote?

Liberal Party
 Unité Québec
 Parti Québécois
 Social Credit
 I would be very undecided
 I would abstain from voting
 I am not at all interested in politics

12. A) During the last federal, provincial and municipal elections, did you undertake any voluntary work for a political party or a candidate?

	YES	NO
a) during the federal elections	1	2
b) during the provincial elections	1	2
c) during the municipal elections	1	2

12. B) Did you attend any political meetings or assemblies?

	YES	NO
a) during the federal elections	1	1
b) during the provincial elections	1	2
c) during the municipal elections	1	2

13. Are you a member of a political party?

a) at the federal level?

Yes
No

b) at the provincial level?

Yes
No

14. How often do you discuss politics with:

	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	SELDOM	NEVER
a) members of your family?	1	2	3	4
b) other teachers?	1	2	3	4
c) friends who are not teachers?	1	2	3	4

15. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
a) the job of schools is to offer students guidance in the choice of a career and to provide the kind of courses that will enable them to enter those professions and economic sectors where the need for man-power is greatest	1	2	3	4
b) it is part of a teachers' job to discuss political affairs with his students (1)	1	2	3	4

1. This question was also included in the questionnaires administered to the students, the parents and the principals.

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
c) whatever the student's level of ability, he should be offered a program of study in high school that is designed to develop his personality rather than to train him for a given occupation	1	2	3	4

16. Do you consider that the teaching staff have too much, too little, or just the right amount of power in each of the areas listed?

	TOO MUCH	JUST THE RIGHT AMOUNT	TOO LITTLE
a) the formation of general school policy	1	2	3
b) the implementation of teaching policy in the school	1	2	3
c) the choice of programs to be offered by the school	1	2	3
d) the allocation of funds to the various school services	1	2	3
e) the formulation and application of school rules	1	2	3
f) the initiation and organization of extra-curricular activities	1	2	3

17. How often do you discuss political affairs with the students?

	OFTEN	OCCASION- ALLY	RARELY	NEVER
In class:				
a) in the course of discussions related to the subject you teach	1	2	3	4
b) in the course of discussions unrelated to the subject you teach	1	2	3	4

	OFTEN	OCCASION- NALLY	RARELY	NEVER
--	-------	--------------------	--------	-------

Out of class:

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| c) in the course of conversations related to the subject you teach | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| d) in the course of conversations unrelated to the subject you teach | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

18.

- A) (IF YOU DO DISCUSS POLITICAL AFFAIRS WITH THE STUDENTS (HOWEVER, FREQUENTLY OR INFREQUENTLY))

Which of the following statements best describes the way such discussions take place?

- I take the initiative more often than the students do
- I take the initiative about as often as the students do
- The students take the initiative more often than I do

- B) (IF YOU NEVER DISCUSS POLITICAL AFFAIRS WITH THE STUDENTS)

Which of the following statements best describes your position?

- The students never take the initiative, but I would be willing to discuss politics if they did
- The students never take the initiative, and anyway I would not be willing to discuss politics with them
- The students occasionally take the initiative, but I refuse to discuss politics with them

19.

In a situation where controversial social or political topics arise in class, there are several types of strategies a teacher can adopt. For each of the following pairs, indicate which strategy you would consider most appropriate: (CHOOSE ONLY ONE STRATEGY FROM EACH PAIR, EVEN IF BOTH SEEM ACCEPTABLE)

- a) emphasize the values in conflict

OR

emphasize the causes or effects of the controversy

- b) try to make the issue concrete

OR

keep the controversy abstract

- c) maintain a neutral position

OR

give your opinion on the issue

- d) develop a class consensus or position

OR

encourage independent individual conclusions

20. Do you think that the following persons or groups would approve or disapprove of a teacher discussing political affairs in class?

	WOULD APPROVE ENTIRELY	WOULD APPROVE	WOULD DISAPPROVE	WOULD DISAPPROVE ENTIRELY
a) the parents of the students you teach	1	2	3	4
b) the students you teach	1	2	3	4
c) your local school commissioners	1	2	3	4
d) the principal of the school where you teach	1	2	3	4
e) the teachers in your school	1	2	3	4
f) your local chamber of commerce	1	2	3	4
g) the CNTU and the QFL	1	2	3	4
h) the QTC	1	2	3	4
i) your local teachers' union	1	2	3	4
j) the Department of Education	1	2	3	4

21. How important a role would each the following groups play in introducing students to the world of politics? (2)

	VERY IMPORTANT	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
a) parents	1	2	3	4
b) the high school or CEGEP	1	2	3	4
c) friends	1	2	3	4
d) mass media (radio, television, newspapers)	1	2	3	4
e) students' associations	1	2	3	4

The following questions taken from the principals questionnaire have also been used in the analysis:

22. The four (4) questions which follow are designed to give an idea of the socio-economic milieu of your school. In answer to each one we ask you to give the closest approximation you can.

	NONE OR VERY FEW	ABOUT ONE TENTH	ABOUT A QUARTER	ABOUT HALF	MORE THAN HALF
a) What proportion of students in your school come from families where neither parent has completed more than nine years of schooling?	1	2	3	4	5
b) What proportion of students in your school come from families where at least one of the parents has completed more than twelve years of schooling?	1	2	3	4	5
c) What proportion of students in your school come from families whose total income (parents and children) is under \$4,000.00 a year?	1	2	3	4	5
d) What proportion of students in your school come from families whose total income (parents and children) is over \$8,000.00 a year?	1	2	3	4	5

- 2 This question was also included in the questionnaire administered to the students, the parents, and the principals.

APPENDIX B

TABLES

TABLE A-1
Item-to-item and item-to-total correlation coefficients for the index
of the propensity of teachers to discuss politics

VARIABLES	1	2	3	4
1. Discussion in class, related to the subject taught	1.00			
2. Discussion in class, unrelated to the subject taught	0.59	1.00		
3. Discussion out of class, related to the subject taught	0.63	0.53	1.00	
4. Discussion out of class, unrelated to the subject taught	0.42	0.60	0.68	1.00
Index of the propensity of teachers to discuss political questions	0.63	0.68	0.74	0.66

Level of significance of all the correlation coefficients: $p = 0.001$.

TABLE A-2

Item-to-item and item-to-total correlation coefficients for the index of political participation

VARIABLES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Voluntary work for a party or a candidate (federal level)	1.00								
2. Voluntary work for a party or a candidate (provincial level)	0.35	1.00							
3. Voluntary work for a party or a candidate (municipal level)	0.33	0.27	1.00						
4. Attend political meetings (federal elections)	0.28	0.20	0.16	1.00					
5. Attend political meetings (provincial elections)	0.15	0.39	0.15	0.57	1.00				
6. Attend political meetings (municipal elections)	0.24	0.20	0.48	0.42	0.34	1.00			
7. Member of a federal political party	0.49	0.19	0.24	0.21	0.12	0.17	1.00		
8. Member of a provincial political party	0.20	0.54	0.17	0.17	0.36	0.15	0.34	1.00	
9. Discuss politics with friends	0.10	0.24	0.13	0.19	0.24	0.15	0.09	0.27	1.00
Index of political participation	0.37	0.49	0.34	0.47	0.52	0.42	0.31	0.46	0.30

Level of significance of all the correlation coefficients: $p < 0.001$.

TABLE A-3

Item-to-item and item-to-total correlation coefficients for the index of teacher liberalism-conservatism

VARIABLES	1	2	3	4
1. The police should be given wider powers	1.00			
2. Public demonstrations and protests should be banned	0.27	1.00		
3. Once a government is elected, people should stop checking upon it and criticizing it all the time	0.19	0.23	1.00	
4. School should become a place where one learns to question the ideas held by one's parents and teachers	0.13	0.18	0.14	1.00
Index of teacher liberalism-conservatism	0.30	0.33	0.27	0.21

Level of significance of all the correlation coefficients: $p = 0.001$.

TABLE A-4

Item-to-item and item-to-total correlation coefficients for the index of the propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school

VARIABLES	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Formation of general school policy	1.00					
2. Implementation of teaching policy in the school	0.59	1.00				
3. Choice of programs to be offered by the school	0.37	0.43	1.00			
4. Allocation of funds to the various school services	0.33	0.26	0.38	1.00		
5. Formulation and application of school rules	0.42	0.41	0.32	0.20	1.00	
6. Initiation and organization of extra-curricular activities	0.32	0.32	0.24	0.25	0.38	1.00
Index of propensity of teachers to claim greater power in the decision-making process in the school	0.61	0.60	0.50	0.40	0.50	0.43

Level of significance of all the correlation coefficients: $p = 0.001$.

TABLE A-5

Item-to-item and item-to-total correlation coefficients for the index of the socio-economic status of the school

VARIABLES	1	2	3	4
1. Proportion of the school's students neither of whose father or mother have completed 9 years' schooling.	1.00			
2. Proportion of the school's students having at least one parent who has completed more than 12 years' schooling	0.59	1.00		
3. Proportion of the school's students whose total family income is lower than \$4,000.00 a year	0.44	0.23	1.00	
4. Proportion of the school's students whose total family income is higher than \$8,000.00 a year.	0.46	0.55	0.46	1.00
Index of the socio-economic status of the school	0.65	0.57	0.46	0.63

Level of significance of all the correlation coefficients: $p < 0.001$.

TABLE A-6

Item-to-item and item-to-total correlation coefficients for the index of teachers' perceptions of negative sanctions in regard to political discussion

VARIABLES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Parents	1.00						
2. Students	0.27	1.00					
3. Local school trustees	0.50	0.13	1.00				
4. Principal	0.52	0.24	0.56	1.00			
5. Colleagues at school	0.43	0.40	0.32	0.53	1.00		
6. Local teachers' union	0.27	0.36	0.20	0.40	0.60	1.00	
7. Department of education	0.46	0.06	0.66	0.50	0.23	0.18	1.00
Index of teachers' perceptions of negative sanctions in regard to political discussion with the students	0.43	0.33	0.60	0.68	0.62	0.48	0.52

Level of significance of all the correlation coefficients: $p < 0.05$.

TABLE A-7

Phi or Cramer's V coefficients between propensity of teachers to discuss politics and the independent variables of the model of analysis with a control on the perceived negative sanctions among French-speaking teachers

	Index of perceived negative sanctions	
	Low	High
School language (1)	0.10	0.02*
Political participation	0.28	0.15
Liberalism-conservatism	0.08*	0.14
Conception of the goals of the school	0.13	0.03*
Duration of training	0.17	0.17
Colleagues' expectations	0.18	0.09**
Principal's expectations	0.11	0.00*
Perceived role conflict	0.04*	0.16
Subject taught	0.14	0.05*
Secondary school levels	0.14	0.14
Socio-economic status of school	0.22	0.28

*No significant differences ($p < 0.05$) were found between the dependent variable and the independent variable.

** $p = 0.06$.

1 In the case of this variable the analysis has been conducted with both French-speaking and English-speaking teachers.

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